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ABSTRACT

A summative evaluation of a unique television experience for children is presented in this document. Vegetable Soup, a multi-ethnic television series, is designed to reduce the adverse effects of racial prejudice. A major focus of the program is to assist elementary school children in the development of genuine appreciation of members of all ethnic groups. The purpose of this research is to test the objectives of the program in order to determine the effect on attitudes of those children who viewed the programs compared to children who did not. A posttest-only design is used to examine the differences between the two groups. Sixteen programs are shown only to the experimental group and results are based on information gathered from spontaneous responses made by children while viewing the program and by responses to the instrument designed to test the objectives of the series. In conducting the evaluation, the focus is on four specific questions which encompass most of the stated objectives of the program. It is generally concluded that the program succeeds in affecting intergroup attitudes of children who view the show, but that this does not apply consistently over all of the racial/ethnic groups on which the study focuses. An interpretation of the results as well as a discussion of reactions to major segments of the shows and recommendations with reference to content and presentation for future T.V. productions for children, are included. (Author/AM)

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ON MEETING REAL PEOPLE:

AN EVALUATION REPORT ON VEGETABLE SOUP:

THE EFFECTS OF A MULTI-ETHNIC CHILDREN'S TELEVISION SERIES ON INTERGROUP ATTITUDES OF CHILDREN

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helping us to choose the children for the experimental and control groups, making the arrangements with the teachers for us to work with the children participating in the study, providing storage for our equipment, and in giving us all other support we needed.

We cannot mention all of the teachers whose children we used in the study. But we do thank them for their flexibility and patience in dealing with the inevitable disruption each time we had to have access to children from their classrooms while we were doing the study. We will mention one teacher who illustrates well the extent of cooperation we received. Special thanks go to Mrs. Wendy Holder, kindergarten teacher, the Landing School, Glen Cove, New York, who was willing to give up her classroom from two to three afternoons per week to make it available for us to use as a space for viewing the television shows.

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Luberta Mays
Project Director

SUMMARY

This document presents the summative evaluation of a unique television experience for children between the ages of 6 and 10.

Vegetable Soup, a multiethnic television series for elementary school age children, was designed to reduce the adverse effects of racial prejudice. Members of the Bureau of Mass Communications of the New York State Education Department, who conceived the idea, and the production staff felt that negative attitudes could be reversed through visual presentation of the many cultures and ethnic groups, which make up our pluralistic society. A major focus of the program was to assist children in the development of a genuine appreciation of members of all ethnic groups.

The need for a positive look at multiethnicity was based on the negative attitudes directed toward minorities in our society. Prejudiced attitudes are frequently based on fear of other groups. Fear itself is based on several factors: misunderstanding about other groups in general; lack of knowledge of customs and mores of those groups; lack of knowledge of contributions of ethnic groups to society; and lack of knowledge of the universal aspects of each group's culture.

The series was designed in a magazine format using a

variety of production techniques. The 39 one-half hour programs may also be viewed as 78 15-minute programs.

The series was designed to affect one's feelings and attitudes toward minority groups, therefore the objectives focus on the affective domain.

It was the purpose of the summative research to test the objectives of the program in order to determine the effect on attitudes of those children who viewed the programs as compared to children who did not view the programs. A posttest-only design was used to examine the differences between the experimental and control groups.

Sixteen programs were shown only to the experimental group, and results were based on information gathered from two sources: 1) spontaneous responses made by children while viewing the programs, and 2) responses to the instrument designed to test the objectives of the series. The control group which did not view the programs, was tested with the same instrument designed for and used with the experimental group. The test samples consisted of 240 experimental and 240 control group children of white, black, Asian, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Native American backgrounds.

The effectiveness of Vegetable Soup was judged on these spontaneous verbal responses; the ability of children to project and become involved in problems and situations

presented; and results of the personal interview using the questionnaire.

Positive verbal responses to programs being viewed, the attainment of the educational objectives, and the significant difference in intergroup attitudes of viewers compared to non-viewers are strong indications of the effectiveness of Vegetable Soup. Since positive shifts in attitude resulted with the experimental group it can be stated, the programs met their stated goals.

Vegetable Soup certainly had an effect on the children, although some of the measures show greater gains for some children than others, particularly in the area of acceptance or rejection in the formal testing situation. Spontaneous verbal responses generally indicated feelings of warmth, understanding, sympathy, and empathy for children of other ethnic groups.

This media approach to intergroup relations worked extremely well for children in older groups as well as with the younger children tested. Indeed young adults and other audiences opened new dimensions in their discussions, and were able to benefit from the intended messages of Vegetable Soup.

The techniques used in production enabled children and adults to approach topics on ethnicity and prejudice in a non-threatening way, thus putting them into position to gain the maximum benefits of positive attitudinal shift or change.

In conducting the summative evaluation, the researcher focused on four specific questions which encompassed most of the stated objectives of Vegetable Soup. These questions were formulated to enable researchers to elicit specific information in measurable terms.

The questions were the following:

(1) Did the child who saw the programs show evidence of fostering more positive identification with his own ethnic groups? (including self identity)

(2) Did the child who saw the programs develop greater feelings of acceptance for others new to his group? (acceptance or rejection)

(3) Did the child who saw the programs feel more friendly or affiliative toward others? (including age and sex groups)

(4) Did the child who saw the programs have less of a tendency to stereotype what people could or could not do occupationally on the basis of race and sex?

Results and Conclusions

Question 1

Fostering Positive Identification With One's Own Ethnic Group

The majority of the children showed positive identification with their own ethnic groups as indicated by their selection of photographs they felt could be themselves or members of their families. Further indication of fostering positive identification appeared in the verbal responses made

about members of their ethnic groups, as seen in the individual television programs.

For the experimental group, there was a slight, but statistically significant difference, in favor of identification with one's ethnic group. When the formal testing instrument was used, it was found that the Chicano children exhibited the greatest percentage of identification with their own ethnic group, of all the ethnic groups tested.

Question 2

Acceptance or Rejection of Outsiders; Members of Other Ethnic Groups

The question focusing on acceptance or rejection asked the child, "What would you do about this child outside of the group?"

When analyzing the separate ethnic groups, in terms of acceptance of outsiders, the white experimental group children indicated the greatest gain, scoring significantly higher than the white control group children. Based on these findings, it is the conclusion of the research team that the programs had a decided positive effect on the white experimental population which viewed the sixteen programs of Vegetable Soup. This was in terms of positive responses to the question, what would you do about the child outside of the group?

Question 3

Level of Friendliness

There were significant differences between the experimental and control group children in the level of friendliness exhibited by their sociometric choices. The difference was in favor of the experimental group. Although the blacks exhibited the highest percentage in choice of friends, the mean scores for all six ethnic groups were found to be higher for the experimental than control groups. As evidenced in question (2), the white group, once again represented the greatest difference between the experimental and control groups, with the Asian Groups representing the least. The contrast between choices of black and Asian groups was extreme and accounts for the variance in the analysis. In our society, these two groups, blacks and Asians, have somewhat unique problems in terms of ethnic grouping and housing patterns. Undoubtedly, these two factors have contributed greatly to attitude formation which in turn must be recognized as variables.

Question 4

Occupational Stereotyping

Only the children between the ages of 8 and 10 years

were included in this part of the study. We felt that the younger subjects were not sufficiently career oriented to be able to pair jobs and ethnic group members. When the experimental and control groups were analyzed by sex and race, no patterns were revealed in terms of what jobs people would hold when they grew up. The responses were extremely randomized for both the experimental and control groups. It is interesting to note, however, that the verbal reponses given by children while viewing, do indicate some interest in many of the occupations seen on the programs.

Children of all ethnic groups made some remarks about either the occupations themselves, or the people holding particular jobs. For example, black, and other children were quite interested in the black hair stylist. Others expressed interest, either verbally or through facial expression, in dancers, builders, the jockey, the ceramist and the harpsichordist. Therefore, although statistical responses were randomized, the interest in particular occupations was evident.

It also seems quite positive that the children did not place various ethnic groups in high or low status jobs, but saw the possibility of a variety of people at suggested occupations.

As has been indicated, while the children viewed the

programs, their responses to segments were monitored and hand recorded. These spontaneous reactions are of particular importance in attitudinal studies because they are direct responses evoked by stimuli. While being viewed, virtually every segment of each program had some effect on many of the 240 subjects. This was evident either by verbal statements or questions, or by some overt behavior exhibited by the children. In one segment on "children's questions," the television audience attempted to answer the questions before the answers were offered on television. In a delightfully informative segment on why one's hair is straight, curly or wavy, the youngsters responded by touching each other's heads and asking additional questions about hair.

The positive responses provided by the young viewers, coupled with the differences between the scores of the experimental and control group children, are indicative of the effect of Vegetable Soup on the attitudes of the children who viewed the (16) programs.

The programs were designed to have a cumulative effect, with one program building on another. The production techniques used, such as serialization and repetition of ideas and concepts, provide children with the reinforcement so necessary if attitudinal change is to take place.

If change was evidenced after viewing only 16 programs, without teacher input, then it may be safely assumed that a much greater percentage of change will be manifested with the use of the previously tested learning concepts incorporated in the teacher training material. These materials should be provided as the programs are aired.

Vegetable Soup is the only children's television program, to date, which has as its major focus, the development of positive feelings about all ethnic groups. It was designed to induce intergroup attitudinal change which it has done successfully.

Recommendations

1. Themes dealing with basic emotions, e. g., the Joey and Martin series, need to be handled openly and directly. The semi-documentary style used in the Joey series proved to be effective in depicting issues of fear and prejudice.
2. For purposes of conducting research, a great degree of specificity is needed in defining Asian ethnic groups. Differences in value systems effect responses are necessary in all fairness to individual groups.
3. Native Americans prefer to be known by their tribal

names, e. g., Navajo, rather than by a more general ethnic classification, such as Indian and Native American.

4. Shifts in attitude may be more clearly indicated, when portrayals of ethnic characteristics are more precise in the choice of ethnic groups presented. For example, there should be clearer distinctions among white, Puerto Rican and Chicano children.

5. Sex roles and sex bias as they relate to occupations, race and age are best understood when the segments are specific in this regard.

6. The focus of the presentation on occupations should stress the possibility of any ethnic group member working at any job. The technique used in filming these particular segments should include adult-child interactions and less verbalization.

7. To fulfill attempts to develop fine listening skills in segments on story-telling, careful selection of story-tellers is of prime importance. Style, presence and delivery of a story are paramount considerations in the selection of a story-teller.

8. Generally, one must avoid talky, technical or "lecture" type presentations.

9. Although it is appropriate to use various language forms, such as a rhyming, or dialect, clarity and simplicity should be the focus. Timing should be paced slowly enough to enable children to clearly understand the words.

10. Faculty and students in Intermediate and Junior High Schools should be encouraged to make the television programs a part of their daily curriculum.

11. The parent-teacher guide should be utilized with each viewing of Vegetable Soup. This will assist the students in understanding concepts presented in various segments.

12. The research team strongly recommends a longitudinal study, to determine attitudinal shifts after continuous watching of the Vegetable Soup series over a period of one year or more.

13 Teacher-training workshops should be organized to enable teachers to use these programs, to help teachers deal more openly and more effectively with prejudice, cultural diversity, and ethnic identity in the classroom.

CHAPTER I

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

Introduction

In July 1973 the Bureau of Mass Communications of the New York State Education Department began the production of 39 half-hour children's television programs. The series called Vegetable Soup, was designed to reduce the adverse effects of racial prejudice through visual presentation of the many cultures and ethnic groups which help make up our pluralistic society. The programs were designed to assist children in the development of a genuine appreciation of members of all ethnic groups.

The federal government under the Emergency School Aid Act provided funds for program development. A basic rationale for providing money in this area is to aid in creating situations which will help minority group children view themselves in a more positive light, particularly as they relate to the rest of society.

Beginning with the assumption that racial isolation fosters negative feelings and attitudes sometimes leading to racial prejudice, the production staff embraced as one of its main functions the development of programs which would create

positive attitudes about people of other races and cultures.

Production utilized the services of minority group people both in and outside the field of communications. The target population for the television series was all ethnic groups - - black, white, Asian, Chicano, Native American and Puerto Rican children.

Each television program was designed to provide a basis for the development of positive attitudes about other cultures. Every effort was made to assist the young viewer to focus on, understand, and eliminate those factors in human behavior that cause negative attitudes. In line with the notion of multi-ethnicity and the need to emphasize minority groups' accomplishments and contributions, the production staff and film crews were from a variety of ethnic groups. More than half of the full time staff and virtually all of the consultants were minority group persons. The notion of equal opportunity employment became a reality for all the people who were part of this project and provided a major breakthrough for them in the field of television.

Additional involvement of minority group representation was achieved through the members composing the Advisory Committee. The committee consisted of minority and non-minority members who were members of the same ethnic groups as those in the target audience. Their function was to

recommend, select and discuss material for inclusion in the various segments of the series (e. g., recipes, people's jobs, etc.). At regular monthly meetings, storyboards and scripts were explained, and completed segments were viewed by the entire group. Goals and objectives for sequences were analyzed and approved. Committee members assisted in the research, discovery and use of necessary materials and information. Continued evaluation was in process throughout the production and development of pilot material.

One consultant from each minority group was hired to participate with the Advisory Committee. The function of each consultant was to provide information, guidance and suggestions regarding the ethnic group represented for program content and production purposes. They were consulted whenever there was anticipated or planned involvement of their particular ethnic group members in the production of television material. The consultants provided specific information necessary for authentication of materials. The consultants had responsibility for reading the scripts for program segments pertaining to their ethnic groups and for recommending changes in the scripts as they deemed necessary. After formative field testing by Harvard University, the consultants working with the Advisory Committee approved inclusion of segments in programs.

Great care was taken to provide an authentic representation of the cultures depicted in the series through the use of the consultants. Their commitment to the importance of the multicultural aspect of education reflects the position taken by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education who in 1972 adopted a statement in support of multicultural education. The position of the Association was to endorse cultural pluralism and the principle that there is no one model American, thus demonstrating that to endorse cultural pluralism is to understand and appreciate the differences that exist among the nation's citizens. Furthermore, these differences are seen as a positive force in the continuing development of a society which possesses wholesome respect for the intrinsic worth of every individual.

Program Objectives or Goals

Toward the realization of the aims indicated above, a set of eight objectives was defined as the basis for the series of 39 half-hour (and 78 fifteen-minute) television programs designed to improve relations and understandings among races in elementary school children. They were the following:

1. To teach positive acceptance of individual and

group differences.

2. To foster the development of positive identification with the child's own ethnic group.

3. To teach appreciation of differences in point of view.

4. To teach children to reject the use of epithets and name-calling as strategies for dealing with conflict situations.

5. To teach children to understand that cooperation with those of different racial, ethnic and sex groups can help to solve common problems and bring desired rewards.

6. To teach that role-stereotyping is misleading; to open to children the range of options for judging people and their actions; at the same time, to teach respect and esteem for people who perform necessary, if not prestigious, roles in society.

7. To teach children about the contributions of minority groups in American history and in the development of American culture.

8. To teach recognition of justice and equitableness so that children will learn to perceive and reject preferential or unfair treatment meted out on the basis of ethnic or racial identification.

This research project was designed to test whether there is an effect on attitude formation and/or change in groups of children who have viewed a series of 16 television programs which address the issues of multiethnicity as compared to groups of children who have not viewed the same 16 programs.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to: a presentation of the questions posed by the researchers in an attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the series; a description of the shows and major segments; a description of three specific shows to acquaint the reader with illustrations of the format, sequence, and content which typify the shows; and a general overview of the organization of the research project.

Research Questions

For purposes of eliciting specific information from the subjects participating in the study, the previously stated objectives were combined and restated in the form of four questions. They were as follows:

(1) Did the child who saw the programs show evidence of fostering more positive identification with his own ethnic group? (including self identity).

(2) Did the child who saw the programs develop greater feelings of acceptance for others new to his group? (acceptance or rejection).

(3) Did the child who saw the programs feel more friendly or affiliative toward others (including age and sex groups)?

(4) Did the child who saw the programs have less of a tendency to stereotype what people could or could not do occupationally on the basis of race and sex?

Description of the Vegetable Soup Series

As has been indicated above, Vegetable Soup is a series of 39 half-hour television programs designed to reduce the negative effects of racial prejudice in elementary school children. The same program material was also edited into 78 fifteen-minute programs for in-school use.

The series was designed in a magazine format, with a variety of production techniques used: full cell animation, real-life drama; documentary; fantasy drama with puppets (and the use of chroma key for flying through space sequences); still photo animation. Most of the programs were produced on film, edited and then converted to video tape for reasons of economy and flexibility. The series was designed to have both horizontal and vertical structure. In addition to each program containing modules and genres of various kinds, each program has either a sub-theme such as "the arts," or may treat only Asian or native American or some other ethnic theme.

Serialization was used extensively, either with "cliff-hangers,"or with characters who continued from program to program, to encourage the child to watch subsequent programs. One program built upon the previous one, using continuing characters whom the viewer came to know. Almost all the segments in the Vegetable Soup series are part of a series, not isolated "specials." All of the programs deal with the same general theme. In addition, many programs in the series have a sub-theme to which several of the segments are related: for example, we see women and men in unusual rather than stereotyped roles; we see people at different ages; we experience words in other languages; and we see various means of communication. We see hands used for different purposes, for example, to create music of different kinds on easily recognized instruments and on some unusual instruments associated with various ethnic groups.

Many of the same concepts, such as peer pressure, namecalling, jumping to conclusions and cultural diversity occur time and time again for reinforcement in different guises and in various styles. Basically, Vegetable Soup offers the young viewer a multiplicity of ethnic images, ideas, and cultural information and attitudes. The series says, "differences can be fun, enriching and rewarding to us and to our country."

The following is a list of the segments in the series and the goals to which each segment addresses itself:

1. OUTERSCOPE I. This is an adventure series, with puppet children of mixed ethnicity traveling into space and encountering a variety of situations that are parables of prejudice--a land of onions and oranges where the oranges have been exploiting the onions; a land of two warring factions who blame each other for all their ills; a land where everyone looks exactly like the puppet children, but where everything is backwards and misunderstandings occur as a result. The puppet children learn what it is like to be the victims of prejudice; they see the evils of prejudice, exploitation, verbal abuse, and of making fun of others; they learn to solve problems and to convince others to work together toward common goals. This segment is serialized throughout the series and ends on an adventure "cliff-hanger" with each episode.

For this segment the goals are those previously mentioned under "Program Objectives or Goals," and are numbered 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8.

2. PEOPLE'S JOBS: This series of 28 segments presents mini-documentaries on minority men and women in both high and low status jobs. In some cases the jobs are non-

stereotypical; in others they are intentionally stereotypical in order to have the children meet a person behind the stereotype and get to know him or her and learn that stereotypes are simplistic and inaccurate. The same concept also holds true for so-called low status jobs. Some of the "jobs" depicted are: Puerto Rican Policewoman, Black Chemist, Asian female City Planner, Black Concert Harpsichordist, White female Veterinarian, Mexican-American Lawyer, Japanese Gardener, and Mexican-American Carpenter.

The goals of these segments are goals 1, 2, and 6.

3. CRAFTS, RECIPES AND GAMES: These animated segments are essentially "how to" segments, encouraging activity by the viewer. The activity stresses cultural diversity with an ethnic slant. Learning new foods, games and crafts becomes fun for the child.

The goals of these segments are: 2, 3, and 7.

4. BASIC EMOTIONS DRAMA: This series of dramas revolves around real children in real life situations with which the viewer can easily identify. All of the stories have racial and ethnic overtones, but deal with universal problems such as peer pressure, cliques, cheating, stealing, the use of epithets, making fun of others, being bullied.

The goals of this series of dramas are: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8.

5. WHAT DID YOU SAY: This series deals with languages and how words from different cultures have found their way into English giving a richness of meaning to the language that would not be there without these additional language influences.

The goals of these segments are: 1, 2, 7.

6. LITERATURE/ART/MUSIC: This series include folk-tales, children's art and the poetry of other cultures. The series focuses on the ethnic identity of literature and the arts. Musical instruments and how these same instruments occur in different cultures in different guises are closely examined. Folk-tales are sometimes told, sometimes sung, sometimes danced, and in one case, fully dramatized in a three-part serialization.

The goals of this group of programs are: 2, 7, 8.

7. CHILDREN'S QUESTIONS ABOUT RACE: This key series deals directly with many of the questions about race which children are not afraid to ask, such as, "What is race?" "What is prejudice?" "Why is the hair of some people different from that of others?" "Why are people different in color?" "What color were the first humans?" "Why can't everyone be the same?" "Why don't all people smell the same?" and so forth.

The goals of these segments are: 1, 3, 4, 8.

Description of Three Typical Shows

The following description of three specific shows was provided to acquaint the reader with the format, sequence, and content that are typical of the 39 shows in the series. The first, tenth and fifteenth shows of the sixteen that were viewed by the children are typical and are described below.

Specific comments made by the children during viewings, are recorded anecdotally and are found in Chapter IV.

Show 1

Segment 1. Outerscope

In this first show the puppet children build a space-ship to explore the universe.

Segment 2. Drums

A segment dealing with music and the universality of drums. The message is that all people share the drum and move to its beat.

Segment 3. Hold Out Your Hands

This is a song about many different kinds of people. It demonstrates their differences and yet some likenesses and, more than anything else, their beauty.

Segment 4. Derivation of Words

This is an instructive piece which informs the television audience about words we've borrowed from other places and people. Some of the words are gorilla, cocoa, and bronco.

Segment 5. Basic Emotions--Martin

Martin succeeds in getting his mother to allow him to have a snake. She rejects the idea at first, because the snake is such a different creature and Martin accuses her of being prejudiced.

Segment 6. Recipe

The recipe for the first show was how to make Guacamole, a Mexican American treat.

Segment 7. Children's Questions: What is a Minority?

This is one of the real questions children ask and is dealt with in a very real and sensitive way.

Segment 8. Luther Cartoon Strip

In this episode, Luther is asked why so many people are friendly to him. And he answers, because he's friendly to them.

Show 10

Segment 1. Outerscope

In this series the puppet children request the machines to give them directions back to earth. They find communication difficult because the machines speak in coded phrases.

Segment 2. People's Jobs

This segment was about a Puerto Rican carpenter, Larry Garcia. He talks about the pride that goes into his work and his love for woodworking in general and demonstrated in his display of hand-made toys.

Segment 3. Crafts

This crafts project on this program is the art of paper folding, Origami. The paper bird speaks one word in Japanese at the end of this segment: "Sayonara."

Segment 4. Sign Language

In this segment a Native American girl demonstrates Indian sign language, using a short vignette to demonstrate.

Segment 5. Real People

In this segment Alex, a Chinese youngster, and Carlos, a Mexican American youngster, participate in a lion dance. As a result Carlos gains acceptance by the Chinese boys.

Segment 6. Recipe

In this segment the children were instructed on how to make coconut candy.

Segment 7. Luther

The little episode in this segment stresses one should not expect to be spoken to if one does not speak to others.

Show 15

Segment 1. Outerscope

This episode of Outerscope displays dissatisfaction by the puppet children of the "treat-treats" always laughing at the "yun-yuns." As a cure for this the puppet children suggest turning things around.

Segment 2. Jobs (What do you want to be?)

A Puerto Rican ballet dancer discusses and demonstrates her talent as a dancer. She discusses some of her background and her childhood aspirations which led to her present position in life.

Segment 3. Holiday (Japanese Festival)

This holiday segment depicts a Japanese Festival commemorating the dead in Japanese families.

Segment 4. Where I Live

In this segment Keiko, a Japanese-American girl, discusses her love of Japanese dancing, her heritage and life in San Francisco.

Segment 5. Real People (Joey)

This is the beginning of a six episode series. This program's episode is about a Puerto Rican family's move to a new building.

Segment 6. Children's Questions

The question answered in this program was, how do people get to be different shades of brown?

This was an instructive piece which explained how it is possible to have color characteristics like one's mother, father, grandparents, or combinations of all these family members.

Segment 7. Recipe

In this recipe the children made sweet potato pudding (Southern style).

Segment 8. Luther

This segment finds Lilly wishing she were black so she could dance like Mary Frances. Luther reminds her that everyone is able to "move" before doing anything else.

Summary of Chapter and Overview of Chapter to Follow

This chapter presented a history of the formative research; a discussion of the need for the Vegetable Soup series; a discussion of the questions posed to evaluate the effectiveness of the series; a description of the programs and their major segments; and a description of three typical complete shows as illustrative of the entire series. Chapter II will present a thorough review of the literature which supports the need for the series. Chapter III will describe the research design, instruments which were developed, and testing procedures. Chapter IV will report the findings based on statistical analysis and interpretation of the data, and specific comments of the children to the shows they viewed. Chapter V will conclude the research with a final discussion of the findings; general response and comments of the researchers to the major segments of the series, and recommendations for future production of similar television series for children.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The present study assesses the effectiveness of a children's television series in obtaining its specified objectives. In general terms, these objectives, have as their overall goal helping children gain a greater awareness and appreciation of the cultural richness derived by American society from the contributions of the many ethnic and racial groups that are its members. Further, the series is designed to help "break down" the common stereotypes and prejudices revolving around race, ethnicity, sex, and age that infect the attitudinal patterns of our society and, in the normal course of the socialization process, tend to be inculcated in the young. This review is designed to establish a framework and perspective for the tasks to be achieved in this study.

The review is divided into four sections or task areas. The choice of the first three was influenced by the structure used by Proshansky (1966, pp. 311-371) in his review of intergroup attitude development. The four sections review:

1. Studies examining the <u>developmental processes</u> involved in the child's acquisition of attitudes toward members of other ethnic groups, races, and sexes.

2. Studies of determinants of intergroup attitudes, including some of the major theories of prejudice.

3. Studies of attitude change as reflected by the influence of theoretical orientations to prejudice.

4. Problems of instrument design for the measurement of intergroup attitudes and attitude change.

It is important to note that the review efforts presented are by no means exhaustive since such a presentation would move beyond the scope of this study. The literature noting systematic research into the development of intergroup prejudice apparently begins in the 1930s. It should be recognized that while the accumulated research literature is extensive in volume it tends to be narrow in breadth. The populations studies were preponderantly American-born groups and heavily emphasized black and white children's intergroup relationships. The development of sex prejudices, treating females as a minority group, has only recently begun to receive systematic attention from researchers on intergroup attitudes. It is generally assumed, in spite of this restricted focus, that the causes and underlying processes in the development of minority group prejudice are broadly generalizable to a wide variety of attitudes and to cultural settings.

The studies reviewed are selected as representative of the genre in the four task areas specified above and are considered the most suitable for representing the information available about the development of intergroup attidues among the young.

Developmental Processes

An intergroup attitude is a cluster of tendencies to respond to other groups in an evaluative fashion from one's own and other's perceived group membership. The content of such attitude is represented by what the person feels, believes, and is ready to do about members of other groups. Goodman (1964) has suggested that racial attitudes in children develop over three overlapping stages: ethnic awareness, ethnic orientation, and ethnic attitudes. It is likely that the development of attitudes toward sex and age stereotypes follows the same patterns.

Ethnic Awareness

Ethnic awareness appears to begin to form at about three to four years of age. It is at this age that the child has begun to form a more clearly differentiated sense of self. A part of this growing differentiation is that of beginning to take cognizance of one's own ethnic identity as

compared to the ethnic identities of others. This differentiation applies to sex and age roles as well, as has been proposed by Parsons and Bales (1955).

In a study of 57 black and 46 white nursery school children between the ages of three and five and one-half, Goodman (1952) employed observational techniques and play-interviews to discover that 85 percent of the children in both races had awareness of racial characteristics. Racial awareness increased with age for both groups.

In a study of perception of racial cues by school children, Katz (1974) found that preschool children had already undergone considerable socialization with regard to dealing with racial stimuli relating to intergroup attitudes and their expression. The researcher further noted that differential perceptions of same-and-other-race stimuli appear to be fairly well established by age four and may form the basis for subsequent attitude development. The hypothesis was stated and supported that children would have more difficulty learning to differentiate faces of another race than their own. This result was confirmed with both black and white children.

Consistent with these findings were those of Clark and Clark (1947) who, in a study of 253 black children ages three

to seven and attending either segregated or interracial schools, showed that racial awareness occurred early and increased with age. The degree of racial awareness did not seem to be affected significantly by the type of school attended. Similar findings have been reported by Morland (1958), Stevenson and Stevenson (1960), and Vaughn (1964).

Investigators have also found membership in an ethnic minority to be a predisposing factor in the early development of ethnic awareness. This was shown by Hartley et al. (1945) in their study of children's racial, religious, and national group identifications, and by Radke et al. (1949) who found that Jewish children between the ages of five and nine were more aware and strongly identified with their group membership than Catholic or Protestant children. This last finding will be related to the results obtained with the sample of Chinese children included in the present study.

Findings of other researchers tend to support the Hartley et al. (1948) and Radke et al. (1949) studies. In the Clark and Clark (1950) study it was found that Negro children have a well developed knowledge of the concept of racial difference between "white" and "colored." Their study examined emotional factors in racial identification and preference in Negro children. Additional findings were that the

dynamics of self-identification in medium and dark-skinned children is somewhat different and more stable than in light-skinned children.

Awarenesses of sex difference appear and become stabilized early in life, as has amply been documented by Maccoby and Jacklin (1975) and much of the work in the collection edited by Friedman and Richart (1975).

One conclusion that emerges from these studies is that racial and sex role awareness begins to appear at the age of three, elaborates rapidly in the ensuing years, and appears to be firmly established at the time children enter the elementary grades in school.

Ethnic Orientation

It is upon the basis of this ethnic and sex role awareness, and the learned sensitivity to the cues whereby discrimination can be made, that incipient attitudes, as Goodman (1964) designates them, are formed. Not only has the child become ethnically aware but concomitantly he has been learning the language of differentiation, the words, concepts, and phrases used to describe members of his own or other groups on the basis of race, sex, age, or other attributes. As the child is learning these labels he is

also slowly being introduced to the evaluative orientations regarding these labels held by the members of the community with whom he is in the most intimate contact.

This process is well illustrated by Maccoby and Jacklin (1975) in their attempt to account for the pervasive polarization of male and female, the great polarization of men and women as adults. Their view favors the "cognitive" theory originally proposed by Kohlberg (1963, 1964) as a framework for interpreting the emergence of children's moral judgments. This view holds that the child forms a concept based on what it means to be a boy or girl, much in the fashion outlined in the present review. This concept is cartoonlike, oversimplified, exaggerated, and stereotyped. Maccoby and Jacklin cite a revealing vignette by describing a little girl who stoutly maintained that only boys could become doctors even though her own mother was a doctor. She failed to perceive real-life variations. While the child will develop cognitively and become more realistic and sophisticated, the basic elements of sex role stereotyping have already been established by the time the child enters elementary school.

Ethnic Attitude

It is only when the child can truly grasp the categorical or class character of ethnic, sex role, or age labels

that the essential nature of an attitude is realized. In regard to ethnic preference and rejection, Clark (1955) notes that the child learns about the racial group to which he belongs only by being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts, and desires that are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks of his race. Both black and white children apparently learn this truth early and well.

A variety of studies have indicated that more black children are attracted to white children than whites to blacks. Goodman (1952) reported that large proportions of her black, as well as her white, subjects in a nursery school preferred white dolls, white story book characters, and that these preferences applied to real people as well. Black children expressed positive friendliness for white children in significantly larger proportion than white children for black. Similar findings have been reported by Morland (1958, 1962) and Radke et at. (1949). There is a paucity of information in regard to cross-racial preferences for other ethnic or racial groups. An interesting area for research would be to conduct studies of Chicano, native American and Asian children similar to the ones that have explored preference patterns between black and white chil-

dren. The present study will provide some data in this area although it was not a basic thrust of the research that was done.

Determinants of Intergroup Attitudes

There are at least three broad assumptions upon which explanations of ethnic or racial prejudice can be based, and about which most researchers are agreed: (1) intergroup attitudes are learned; (2) they are multicausally determined; and (3) they are functional or need-satisfying for the individual (Proshansky, 1966). There is considerable agreement among theorists that ethnic and racial prejudice, and sex role stereotyping as well, are rooted primarily in the organization and practices of the society and not nearly as significantly in the problems or pathologies of individuals.

That intergroup attitudes are normative, enduring, and arranged into clear and uniform hierarchies of racial and ethnic group performances has been demonstrated by a variety of studies (Goodman, 1952; Morland 1958, 1962; and Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). By the age of 11 ethnic group preferences have become fairly well stabilized and follow essentially the same patterns as those found among adults.

Zeligs (1947) conducted a study on factors regarded by

children as the basis of their racial attitudes. Fifteen sixth-grade children were interviewed with regard to attitudes about children of other races. The study was designed to find out whether attitude formation was based on personal relationships or racial differences. Where the children had had no direct personal contacts, judgments were based on such externals of racial differences as the quaintness or grotesqueness of the customs and costumes of the people. The results indicated that the attitudes of sixth-grade children regarding races appeared to be dependent almost exclusively upon personal relationships in their communities and to be virtually untouched by racial differences.

In the same year Zeligs (1947) reported on a study of children's intergroup concepts and stereotypes. Tests were made of 12 year old children in a Cincinnati suburban school in 1931 and again in 1944. The children were primarily from high-income Jewish homes and of high average mental ability. A racial attitude test was given to each child who was asked if he were willing to have any of a set of relationships with children listed by nationality and race. These relationships included cousin, chum, roommate, playmate, neighbor, classmate, and schoolmate. Total "yes" answers constituted an index of friendliness toward a group. In a

second test, to obtain children's concepts and stereotypes, children were asked to write a true but interesting sentence about each of 39 races and nationalities. The ideas expressed were tabulated. An association test was presented that required the children to write the first word that came to their minds as each nationality or race was mentioned. Reactions were grouped under 'favorable,' 'unfavorable,' 'neutral,' and 'do-not-know' headings; most common and second most common concepts for each race and nationality were noted. The results were then tabulated and changes in attitudes were noted. The findings indicated that the children's concept of races as expressed in sentences showed a high degree of similarity and suggested a marked tendency toward stereotypic definitions. There were no unfavorable attitudes expressed toward American or Jewish children. There were about equal numbers of sentences which could be classified as 'favorable,' 'neutral,' or 'unfavorable.' The results were consistent with other studies in that the children's responses closely mirrored those that could be expected from the adults with whom they associated.

The results of all these studies point to increasing evaluative consistency with age in regard to intergroup attitudes. Prejudice increases with age, mirrors that of

the adult community, and is directed toward a number of minority groups.

Attitude Change

Intergroup attitudes are complex, learned early, and learned well. They are normative to the group or groups of one's origin and consequently receive continuous naturally recurring reinforcement through the interactions experienced in normal life in the society. Perhaps equally importantly the structures for these attitudes are laid down through the cognitive and affective definitions given the child long before he is capable of testing their validity through reasoning. To bring about attitude change, given the above context of attitude development, could conceivably require the same long-term socialization processes that led to the formation of one's original attitudes. Most of the research on attitude change has dealt with specific change-inducing procedures such as education, propaganda, and intergroup contact.

An interesting theoretical approach to attitude change has been proposed by Rosenberg (1960). He proposed that an attitude can be held if there exists a consistency between the affective and cognitive components implicit to the atti-

tude. This consistency represents a stable psychological state in the individual. If either the cognitive or affective components shift markedly, the resulting inconsistency produces a drive or tendency to change the other until consistency is restored. This theory is somewhat similar, in terms of its assumptions about motivation, to the cognitive dissonance theory of Festinger (1957) and to the assimilation-disequilibration-accommodation model proposed by Piaget (1950) for his psychobiological theory of genetic epistemology. Rosenberg has tested his theory in laboratory studies with adults only.

It would appear that the effectiveness of children's television shows that are designed to induce intergroup attitudinal change could profitably be looked at through Piaget's theory. Piaget (1950) has proposed that a child evolves, as he matures and experiences the world, complexes of cognitive structures that represent his way of organizing his perceptions to the world. These structures are stable so long as the perceptual data received by him are congruent or consistent with the structures he has elaborated so far. Such cognitive structures are, in Piaget's terms, in a state of equilibrium or stable. Attitudes could be construed as one area of stable structures elaborated by the child. The

stability of these structures is disturbed--in Piaget's terms, disequilibrated--when perceptual experiences that are discrepant or discordant with previous ones occur. The child then is motivated to restructure his way of organizing his interpretations of events that have taken place. This process is called accommodation and involves a modification of existing structures to fit the childs' perceptions of new experiences, and to reach a new state of equilibrium. These processes may take place in a fairly short time, but with complex structures re-equilibration might take a period of months. Hence, in such complex domains as intergroup attitudes, instant "training effects" or "learning" might not be noted immediately after the child has seen a series of television shows, even though the perceptual impact of the video material might have been profound.

A further consideration to be extrapolated from Piaget (1955) and Kohlberg (1963, 1964) is that sophisticated reasoning of the kind involved in the rational testing of the validity of intergroup attitudes is similar to that of moral judgment making. These judgments tend to require levels of logical or formal operational reasoning attained very slowly by children, not usually appearing in full form until the age of 10 or 12. It may be for this reason that practi-

cally all of the research on attitude change has been done with high school and college level students and with adults as may be noted, for example, from the excellent review by Proshansky (1966).

The current study was conducted, therefore, in the absence of a background of previous research information on attitude change in young children. Data on the effectiveness of television as a medium for engendering attitude change are also limited. Practically no studies have been published and those that are available have little bearing on the points of interest here.

Greenhill (1967) in his review of research in instructional television and films observed that one of the objectives of teaching is to influence students' attitudes toward ideas or issues in desired ways. Generally they have shown that attitudes which can be modified by appropriate information are changed in a favorable direction by televised instruction to about the same degree as they are changed by direct instruction.

Changing some of the existing negative attitudes about other ethnic groups is a major societal need. To underscore Greenhill's contention, youngsters in racially isolated environments may never be exposed to direct instruction which

provides a positive point of view regarding other races or cultures.

Instruments for the Measurement of Attitude Change

A careful research of the literature and sources of published tests of interpersonal attitudes failed to identify any previously developed instruments that could be used directly or readily adapted for the measures needed for the evaluation of the Vegetable Soup series. Very few adequate instruments exist that can be used in attitude research with children. Those that do exist had to be excluded for reasons specified in Chapter III or because they appeared to be tapping attitudinal material not germane to the research measures needed.

The work by Yarrow (1966) was a highly useful source of guidelines for the work to be done on instrument development. Some of these were as follows:

1. It is important for the investigator of attitudes and values to realize that he may bring the child uncomfortably close to distressing areas of his life.

2. Care must be taken to recognize that the child is limited in his ability to consent to being tested, even where the parent has given permission, and of being cooperative or

not. It is important to recognize that there must be some degree of self-determination on the part of the child.

3. The experimenters questions can have significant impact on the child. Many times children feel they are boxed into situations, which make them somewhat uncomfortable in terms of responding to stimuli. Yarrow (1966) described an attitudinal study where a kindergarten child was asked a question about black and white children playing together. The child became somewhat uncomfortable, drew a deep breath at the presentation of a picture of white and Negro children together on a playground, and commented gravely. "This is getting serious." (p. 652)

Most of the methods used in previous research for the study of young children's attitudes toward ethnic groups (Goodman, 1952; Radke, et al., 1949; Clark & Clark, 1947; Zeligs, 1947; and Moreland, 1962) were not applicable in the present study in that they were too cumbersome and time consuming to administer, were not germane to all six ethnic groups involved in the study, or did not tap the dependent variables of experimental interest. Sociometric techniques have been shown to be extremely useful in attitude research and readily amenable to application in the study of the Vegetable Soup shows. These techniques have been reviewed

in detail by Lindzey and Borgatta (1954).

Henderson (1956) found that sociometric tests constructed from individual photographs of children in classroom groups were highly effective in the study of children's social preference patterns. In individually administered test sessions each child in a classroom group was asked to answer "yes" or "no" to the sociometric criterion of "would you like to have this child as a friend?" The child made these judgments as he viewed pictures of each of his classmates as they were exposed in flashcard fashion. It was found that these methods produced highly sensitive displays of classroom social structures in terms of sociometric status, friendship clusters, and sex preferences. The social choice patterns that emerged were highly stable, especially in the area of hierarchy in social status. The technique was easy to administer, took very little time to complete, and was readily applicable to children of all ability levels from kindergarten to the eighth grade.

A variation of this approach to attitude testing combined with the social distance techniques pioneered by Bogardus (1925) was felt to be the most promising approach to be used for the basic attitude measures in this study.

Conclusions

Ethnic Awareness

It seems reasonable to conclude from the above that by the time they enter the first or second grade in school children have: (1) become aware of the cues for racial, ethnic, and other group differences by which people can be categorized; (2) begun to show increasing tendencies to identify themselves in racial and ethnic terms; (3) begun to accept and reject individuals on racial and ethnic grounds; and (4) begun to apply racial and ethnic definitions to themselves in ways affecting their sense of personal self-worth.

Intergroup Attitudes

By the age of 11 children's ethnic group preferences have become stabilized and closely patterned after those found among adults. Attitudes directed toward minority groups are negative. (Goodman, 1952; Moreland, 1958, 1962; and Stevenson and Stewart, 1958).

Attitude Change

It may be said that racial and sex role attitudes are internalized by the child as a part of his developmental processes. His awareness of the criteria of racial and sex role

differentiation, and the values placed on these criteria, are shaped before he is intellectually able to test their validity by reason. Theoretically intergroup attitudes can be changed through introducing new information that is discrepant to the basic assumptions underlying any given attitude or by disrupting the consistency between the affective and cognitive aspects of the attitude. Piaget's theory might be a useful framework through which this process might be viewed.

It would seem reasonable to propose that television can be a significant tool in engendering intergroup attitude change because of its nearly universal accessibility to children. Its very accessibility suggests television's great potential for reaching children and exposing them to facts and thoughts, and in this way engendering feelings in them about other races and cultures. It should be able to do this in areas where children would be unlikely ever to receive this kind of positive exposure through direct teaching.

Instruments for the Measurement of Attitude Change

Very little is available in the form of ready-made instruments for the measurement of change of interracial ethnic attitudes. This lack of instrumentality is com-

plicated further by the fact that the testing to be used must be applicable to six racial/ethnic groups that are culturally very different from one another. A variant of the sociometric method appeared to be the most effective approach for obtaining the key attitude measures for this study.

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND INSTRUMENTATION

The Research Design

The basic research design adopted for this evaluation was the "Posttest Only Control Group" design wherein children were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups, as shown in Table 1, by age, sex, and race. While it was recognized that the pretest is a concept deeply ingrained in the thinking of research workers in education and psychology, it is not essential to true experimental designs. As noted in Campbell and Stanley (1963):

> For psychological reasons it is difficult to give up "knowing for sure" that experimental and control groups were "equal" before the differential experimental treatment. Nonetheless, the most adequate all purpose assurance of lack of initial biases between groups is randomization.... Randomization can suffice without the pretest.... Furthermore, in educational research, particularly in the primary grades, we must frequently experiment with.... the initial introduction of entirely new subject matter, for which pretests in the ordinary sense are impossible. (pp. 25-26)

Further arguments against any variant of the Pretest-Posttest Control Group Design were the difficulties encountered in repeated testing of young children and the risks of pretest effects confounding the final results of the posttest performance.

TABLE 1

Summary of the Research Design

Racial Ethnic Groups

Sexes / Ages	Black				White				Asian				Puerto Rican				Chicano				Totals
	Exp.		Cont.		Exp.		Cont.		Exp.		Cont.		Exp.		Cont.		Exp.		Cont.		
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	
6-8	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	200
8-10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	200
									Totals												
Exp.	20	20			20	20			20	20			20	20			20	20			200
Cont.			20	20			20	20			20	20			20	20			20	20	200
Grand Totals	40		40		40		40		40		40		40		40		40		40		400

It may be noted from Table 1 that the research design called for balanced randomly assigned control and experimental groups, subdivided by age, sex, and race, and with each cell containing ten children. To insure equal distribution of ages each cell contained equal numbers of children of the age levels represented. Hence, each cell in the 6-8 year old group contained five six year olds and five seven year olds, and each 8-10 year old group contained five eight year olds and five nine year olds.

The Research Sample

The black, white, Asian, and Puerto Rican samples were drawn from four public schools in the New York City metropolitan area. The Chicano sample was drawn, in the fashion described above, from a public school in Santa Fe, New Mexico. A sixth sample, composed of Native American children, was studied in the Gallup Indian Community Center in Gallup, New Mexico. This sample did not meet the parameters specified above. The children available were younger than those studied in the other racial/ethnic groups and the numbers available provided a sample size of only 20. The Native American children's data were therefore not included in all of the major statistical analyses performed for the study.

The statistical treatments applied to the data organized around this design will be described in Chapter IV.

The Instruments

Of the many tasks to be confronted in the conduct of this study, one of the most exacting was that of constructing effective instruments. This was not unexpected. Researchers have long experienced difficulties in constructing effective instruments with sufficient sensitivity to tap the kinds of dependent variables or program effects posed for the Vegetable Soup series in the objectives. Several issues or limiting factors had to be considered in the process of instrument design:

1. As previously noted in the review of research literature concerned with the affective domain, attitude changes are notoriously elusive targets of measurement. This difficulty was compounded by the fact that the children in the target population are relatively young. Children's responses to instruments tapping their values and attitudes during the periods of early childhood and middle childhood tend to be restricted. Attitude changes could be occurring quite independently of the children's experience with the television programs. Hopefully, instruments could be designed that were

sensitive enough to detect subtle changes attributable to program effect that had to occur over a relatively short period of time.

2. The instruments had to be practical in terms of the time they would take to administer and the degree to which they would tax the capabilities of the children. They would have to fall within the normal attention span of the children to be tested. The test items would also have to tap content familiar enough and of appropriate difficulty level to be both challenging and nonfrustrating to the children. The total research program involving the removal of children from their classrooms for viewing the television shows over a period of several weeks, and later for post-testing, constituted a serious invasion of classroom time and an imposition on what the regular classroom teachers were trying to accomplish. Hence, the test had to be short, attractive, and intrinsically motivating enough to be administered in one session.

3. The content of the test items had to be acceptable to the school and parent communities where the study was done. Attitude testing is an area in which personal sensitivities are easily provoked. This is particularly so where the test content has to do with attitudes in reference to self, race

and ethnicity, sex and age roles, and other issues tinged with prejudice in American society. Parents and teachers, often with real justification, are critically sensitive to testing in schools, generally, and to the testing of personal-social factors in particular. Test items could not be used that would have any likelihood of evoking parental objections. Further, direct questioning of children in regard to such issues as their feelings about themselves, about their own race, or about other races could not be used. In no case could any test item imply, invoke, or teach any given racial attitude or self-precept for the sake of measuring it.

4. The children to be tested were to be drawn from widely differing backgrounds of experience ranging from the Navajo child from semirural northwestern New Mexico, the child in suburban Long Island, New York, to the Chinese child who might recently have moved to Manhattan's Chinatown from Hong Kong or Taiwan. Test items representing content with reasonable degrees of commonality of experiences and relevance to all of the children in the study would be needed. A particularly difficult aspect of this requirement was the issue of cultural relevance. It is common in the dominant American culture to assume that people choose others as friends. This concept is practically meaningless to the

Navajo since his culture does not place the child in the position of having to choose friends.

5. Significant numbers of the children included in the experimental and control groups had sufficiently limited capacities in reading, writing, and speaking the English language so that the use of paper-pencil testing in group settings would have produced data of questionable value. The instruments to be designed had to be individually administered, had to hold the requirement for verbal responses to a minimum, and had to be so structured that the test administrator would be able to ask for clarification or elaboration where the child's responses were unclear. It was also decided that where possible each testing team should include adults who could speak Spanish, Chinese, or Navajo to help those children with limited understanding of English.

Given the above restrictions some significant constraints were placed upon the types of instruments that could be developed, the conditions to be set for their use, and how much testing could actually be accomplished.

The tests were designed to be individually administered and short enough to have an administration time of not more than 20 minutes. One consequence of this practical limit was the ruling out of any possibility of testing directly

all eight of the objectives stated for the Vegetable Soup series. The tests were also designed in such a way that all data would be recorded by the examiner.

The final version of the instrument package was broken down into four parts. These parts are described below and coincide with the four research questions which are answered in the section, entitled "Results and Conclusions."

Test I--Awareness and Positive Identification with Group

> Did the child who saw the programs show evidence of fostering more positive identification and awareness of his own ethnic group?

The test for this question was designed to determine whether or not the child was aware of his ethnic identity and whether there were positive feelings towards his own ethnic group. Twenty-four photographs depicting four children for each of the six racial-ethnic groups included in the study were used. Each cluster of four photographs depicted two girls and two boys. These were individual pictures of a younger (approximately 6-7 years) and an older (approximately 8-9 years) boy and girl. The photographs were of school children not known to any of the subjects in the study.

The 24 photographs were displayed in a random order

on a large table and the child was given the following instructions:

"Here are some pictures of some children (point to them). Show me the one that looks the most like you."

After the child's choice, or choices, the examiner was instructed to ask: "Can you tell me why you chose this one?" and to record the child's answer.

This picture was set aside and, pointing to the remaining photographs the examiner was to ask: "Now show me the pictures of the children who could be in your family or could be your sisters or your brothers."

The child was then asked: "Can you tell me why this child (these children) could be a member of your family?"

In the third and final part of the identification test the child was shown 12 photographs of adults depicting one woman and one man from each of the six ethnic groups included in the study. None was known to the subjects.

These photographs were placed in a random order in front of the child. Pointing to the pictures the examiner said: "Here are some pictures of grown-up people. Show me the picture, or pictures, of those people who could be members of your family."

The child was then asked: "Tell me why this person (these people) could be a member (members) of your family."

All picture selections were recorded using a numbered code for each of the pictures and the child's verbal responses were noted in protccol form. (See Data Sheet, in "Apendix.")

For scoring purposes, all answers and protocols were examined by one of the investigators. Taking the responses to all three of the subtests as a whole each child was scored either "yes" (having ethnic identity), or "no" (not having ethnic identity).

The statistical analyses of these data were intended to determine whether there were differences between the experimental and control groups in the degree of ethnic identity and whether there were interaction effects between ethnic identity and the sociometric choices to be described next.

Test II--New Child in School

> Did the child who saw the programs develcp greater feelings of acceptance for others new to his group?

This test, divided into Parts A and B, consisted of two 8 1/2-by-11 inch black and white photographs depicting a cluster of children sitting around tables in a classroom setting. Each photograph shows a boy or girl standing at the door and looking into the room. Parts A and B differed in that in one form the child at the door was of the same

racial or ethnic group as the children in the classroom, and the child being tested. In the alternate form the child at the door was of a different race or ethnic group. These forms were administered in staggered sequence so that one form was administered at the beginning of the test battery and the alternate form was administered at the end. Thus the pictures with the alike racial (A) and nonalike racial children (B) were used first and second respectively with every other child tested, ruling out the "position effect" of order of item administration.

The procedure for administration involved the examiners placing the photograph in front of the child and saying:

"Here is a child (pointing to the picture) who is coming to this school for the first time. The child is standing there alone and frightened. The other children are inside. The new child does not know what to do. Tell me what you would do if you were one of the children in the group (points to the group)."

If the child hesitated to respond, the examiner restated the query. Examiners with facility in Chinese and Spanish were available to administer the tests in the child's mother tongue where necessary.

The examiner was instructed to record the child's

statements in synoptic form, using quotations where feasible, and to score the response on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from "hostile or rejecting" (scored 1) to "highly helpful, sensitive to new children" (scored 7).

All protocols were examined by one of the senior researchers and the scores on the rating scale were adjusted to obtain scoring uniformity on the basis of each examiner's written comments.

The statistical analysis was designed to examine the differences in responses of each child to the "like" and "unlike" racial pictures, and to determine differences in the responses of the experimental and control groups.

Test III--Choice of Friends

> Did the child who saw the programs feel more friendly towards others?

The test for this question was designed to measure sociometric preferential patterns by the children in the six racial-ethnic groups included in the study, and by sexes, for children from the six groups represented by the 24 photographs described in Test I above.

The 24 photographs were placed in a pile that had been randomly ordered by shuffling. The examiner, holding the pack of pictures, said to the child: "I am going to show you

the pictures of these children one by one. As you look at each picture, I want you to tell me if you would like to have this child as a friend. If you would, say 'yes'; if not, say 'no.'"

The examiner then placed each picture in a "yes" or "no" pile according to the child's responses. He then picked up the pictures in the "yes" pile and said: "Here are the children you would like to have as friends. Now, I would like to have you look at them again and tell me which ones you would especially like to have as a friend. As I show you these pictures one by one, I want you to tell me which ones you would especially like to have as a friend. For those children you would especially like to have as friends say 'yes'; for the others say 'no.'"

The examiner then proceeded as in the first step.

In the final step of this procedure the examiner picked up the original "no" pile, and said: "here are the children you did not choose to have as friends. But now I want you to imagine that these are the only children around to choose as friends. The others might have moved away. Tell me which children you would choose as friends if they were the only ones around. As I show you these pictures, for the ones

you would choose as friends, say 'yes,' for the others, say 'no.'"

The examiner then proceeded as in the previous step.

The pictures, thus ordered into a four-fold hierarchy of preferences, were recorded on data sheets utilizing the number codes established for each picture. Potentially, then, with complete data the research design could generate a 400 by 24 sociomatri that could be analyzed for preference patterns for experimental and control groups by sex, race, and age of choosers and pictures chosen.

Test IV--Occupations

> Did the child who saw the programs have less of a tendency to stereotype what people could do occupationally on the basis of sex and race?

The occupations test was designed to obtain judgments of the kinds of occupations that people of different racial or ethnic group membership might enter. Sketches portraying occupations or occupational settings were created by artists. These artists' renderings were line drawings depicting the following occupations: nursing, supermarket worker, teacher, judge, workman/woman, farm worker, doctor, office worker, bus driver, cleaning person, and cowboy/cowgirl. The drawings depicting these occupations were placed on a large

table in front of the child. The examiner pointed to each of the pictures explaining that these were pictures of things to work with or places to work and naming the occupations that were represented.

The child then was given the 24 photographs of children used in Tests I and III and was told: "When these children become grownups they are all going to do some kind of work. I want you to imagine that these children (pointing to the photographs) are going to do work such as we see in these drawings (pointing to the occupation pictures) when they grow up. Look at the picture of each child and place each picture on the kind of job he might do when he grows up."

The examiner at this point made clear to the child that (1) all photographs had to be used, (2) more than one photograph could be put on any job, and (3) that not all occupations had to be utilized.

The responses were then recorded by placing the code numbers of the photographs in spaces for the 11 occupation categories on the data sheet.

The final step of testing was to administer the second half of Test II (the test for acceptance or rejection.)

Following some preliminary field testing the decision was made to test only the eight through ten year old children with the whole test battery and to eliminate the occupations

test with the six and seven year old children. We felt that the younger subjects were not sufficiently career oriented to be able to pair jobs and ethnic group members. The resulting testing time per child was about 15 minutes for the younger children and 20 minutes for the older.

On the matter of reliability and validity the investigators are aware of the importance of instrument reliability and validity and inter-examiner reliability. They are also aware that all kinds of effort is involved in this aspect of instrument design. However, the coordination of viewing time and end-of-school-year schedules presented some real problems to the researchers. A decision had to be made whether to show (16) programs without the reliability and validity tests or to forego the tests to take advantage of available viewing time. The tests (interview-questionnaire) were administered without testing reliability and validity.

Inter-examiner reliability was a serious problem only with the scoring of Test I and II, where the scoring depended on examiners' judgment. The solution adopted for this problem was to have all responses for all experimental and control group children examined and, where necessary, rescored by one major investigator, following rules agreed upon by the senior investigators involved.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter presents two kinds of data for examination; statistical data which are based upon the results of the testing procedure followed by anecdotal data which are comprised of children's verbal responses and comments to the specific shows they viewed. Experimenters' commentary is also included in this anecdotal material.

Statistical Analysis and Interpretation

The analysis of the data was organized around the four research questions stated in Chapter I. Each of these questions was taken in turn, the data germane to each question is described, the analysis presented, and the results of these analyses are interpreted.

The analyses of the data were performed on the CDC 6600 Computer using programs from the Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for chi square, analysis of variance, and repeated measures' analysis of variance.

The analysis performed for each question follows. The findings will be summarized and discussed at the conclusion of Chapter V.

The Statistical Analysis

Question 1. Did the children in the experimental group show evidence of fostering more positive identification and awareness of their ethnicity than the control group?

It may be recalled that the children's responses to Test I were scored 'yes,' if identified with their own race or ethnicity, and 'no' if not. The chi square test of the significance of differences between the total experimental and control groups is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Number of Children Who Were Identified and Not Identified with Their Racial and Ethnic Identity

		Identified	Not Identified	Total
Experimental		153	47	200
	Row Pct	76.5	23.5	
	Col Pct	52.2	43.9	
Control		140	60	200
	Row Pct	70.0	30.0	
	Col Pct	47.8	56.1	
Total		293	107	400
		73.2	26.7	100.0

Note. Corrected chi square = 1.83726 with one degree.

Significance = .1753.

From Table 2 it may be noted that the patterns of racial/ethnic identification fell in the expected direction. More experimental children (153) than control children (140) were scored as racially identified but this difference obtained a significance level of only .1753, a value that does not reach the .05 level of confidence minimum set for this study.

It is of interest to note that of the 400 children whose scores were analyzed, 73.2% were identified with their race or ethnicity while 26.7% were not.

The conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is one of support for previous studies. Race awareness begins at an early age and increases thereafter (Clark, 1947, Goodman, 1952).

A variety of other analyses were performed with the racial identity data. Since the results are not directly related to this study they will not be presented in tabular form. It was of interest to note that there was no difference in racial identification between sexes. The distributions were virtually the same. But there was a difference by age groups. Consistent with the findings of previous

research, more older children (ages 8-9) than younger children (ages 6-7) were scored as racially identified. The percentages were 79.0 and 67.5 respectively, a difference large enough to be significant at the .01 level.

When ethnic identity was analyzed by racial/ethnic groups, the percentages of children scored as having identification were as follows: white, 83.7%; black, 76.3%; Puerto Rican, 55.0%; Asian, 66.2%; and Chicano, 85.0%. The significance of differences in the frequency distributions reflecting these percentages was significant at beyond the .0001 level. It is of interest to note that the Puerto Rican children had the lowest rate of racial/ethnic identification. It would probably be erroneous to evaluate this finding as meaning that the Puerto Rican children did not have awareness of their ethnicity. Puerto Rican people represent, probably more than most other groups, the effects of interracial mixing. It is not uncommon to find Puerto Ricans that have the appearance of being exclusively of Caucasian stock, or, in contrast, having features and skin color similar to those of black African stock. Frequently the features of both extremes, and shades in between, can be found in members of one extended family. The finding of a low percentage of identification for the Puerto Rican children has a high probability of being an artifact, a function

of the reality that Puerto Rican people are not readily identified in terms of racial characteristics.

It would appear from this analysis that the majority of the children in this study were aware of their ethnic identity. There was a slight but statistically significant difference in this awareness in favor of the 200 children in the experimental group. There were highly significant differences in the awareness of identity frequencies between races with Chicano children having the highest percentage rated as identified and Puerto Ricans the lowest. This difference is likely to be a function of the racial/ethnic mix of some Puerto Ricans, thus presenting a degree of similarity with other ethnic groups. There were no significant differences by ethnic groups between experimental and control groups in racial/ethnic identification.

Question 2. Did the children in the experimental group have greater feelings of acceptance for outsiders than the children in the control group?

The data directed to this question were derived from Test II, parts A and B. Two pictures depicting a classroom scene with elementary school children at work in a group were shown each subject. Part A showed a child "new child in school" of the same race as the group depicted and the subject being tested, standing at the door in a hesitant

manner. Part B was the same in all respects except that the "new child in school" was of a race other than the subject and the classroom group. One part of the test was administered at the beginning of the testing session; the other part at the end. The subject was told that the person standing at the door was a new child in school and that he did not know what to do. The subject was asked to imagine himself to be a member of the class and to state what he would do if he saw "that child standing there, new in school, and maybe afraid, and not knowing what to do." The child's response in each case was recorded anecdotally and scored by the examiner on a seven point Likert-type scale on criteria ranging from "rejecting" (scored 1) to "highly accepting and helpful" (scored 7). This scale may be seen in chi square Table 2.

The affective variable of interest in this test was the child's empathy for the feelings and needs of the "outsider" was of the same race as the subject and group depicted, or of a different race.

In the process of tabulating the responses to Test II, parts A and B, it became evident that there were practically no differences in the responses for the two parts. The anecdotal material was very similar in both sets of responses. In some cases the protocol material was slightly richer and

more elaborate for the second test administered, but this was true for either the "like racial" or "unlike racial" pictures, depending upon which picture was administered last. The embellishment of the second responses, in the few cases in which it occurred, seems to have a function of training or position effect of the first test on the second.

The responses to parts A and B were therefore collapsed by taking the category level of the two scores as one score or the higher of the two scores in the infrequent instances in which there was a difference. The rationale for taking the higher score was that it was assumed to reflect best the empathic level of which the respondent was capable. It should be noted that Test II was the weakest of the four tests used in the instrument from the point of view of language limitations influencing the child's potential quality of response. The child was required to express in his own language his feelings about what he felt he would do for the new child in school. This response would be seriously influenced by such factors as level of language proficiency, test anxiety, cultural orientation, and the subject's definition of what realistically could be a child's responsibility in a situation that is ordinarily handled by an adult on the scene. Even though these deficiencies were recognized,

the test was included because of its close relationship to the objectives for Vegetable Soup and because it could serve the function of involving the child overtly and actively with the examiner and the testing situation.

Table 3 presents a 2 x 7 chi square analysis of the frequency distributions of the experimental and control group responses to Test II. There were virtually no differences in the distributions by scores by the experimental and control groups as is attested by the significance of difference level of .823. Inspection of these frequencies reveals them to be unusually uniform. These distributions were further analyzed by applying five chi square analyses by race and experimental and control groups. In these analyses the white groups of experimental and control children were found to differ at the .01 level of significance, with the experimental group giving a higher level of acceptance responses. These analyses are too cumbersome to present in this text.

TABLE 3

Frequencies of Responses by Experimental and Control Groups

on Feelings of Acceptance for Outsiders

Score	Rejecting (1)	Mildly Rejecting (2)	Disinterested (3)	No Response (4)	Shows Concern (5)	Helpful (6)	Highly Helpful (7)	Row Total
Experimental	0	0	5	12	83	80	20	200
Row Pct	0	0	2.5	6.0	41.5	40.7	10.0	
Col Pct	0	0	50.0	42.9	52.2	49.7	50.0	
Control	1	1	5	16	76	81	20	200
Row Pct	.5	.5	2.5	8.0	38.0	40.5	10.0	
Col Pct	100.0	100.0	50.0	57.1	47.8	50.3	50.0	
Total	1	1	10	28	159	161	40	400
Total Pct	.2	.2	2.5	7.0	39.7	40.3	10.0	

Chi Square = 2.88582 with 6 degrees of freedom.

Significance = .823.

The analysis of variance of the means of the acceptance scores presented in Table 4 reveals the interactions of race with control and experimental group responses to Test II more clearly than the chi square analysis.

TABLE 4

Analysis of Variance of Feelings of Acceptance Scores by Experimental and Control Groups and by Race

Source of Variation	Sums of Squares	df	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Main Effects	20.585	5	4.117		
Exp.-Control	.250	1	.250	.329	.999
Race	20.335	4	5.084	6.688	.001
Two-Way Interactions	10.475	1	2.619	3.445	
Exp./cont.--Race	10.475	4	2.619	3.445	.009
Residual	296.450	390	.760		
Total	327.510	399	.821		

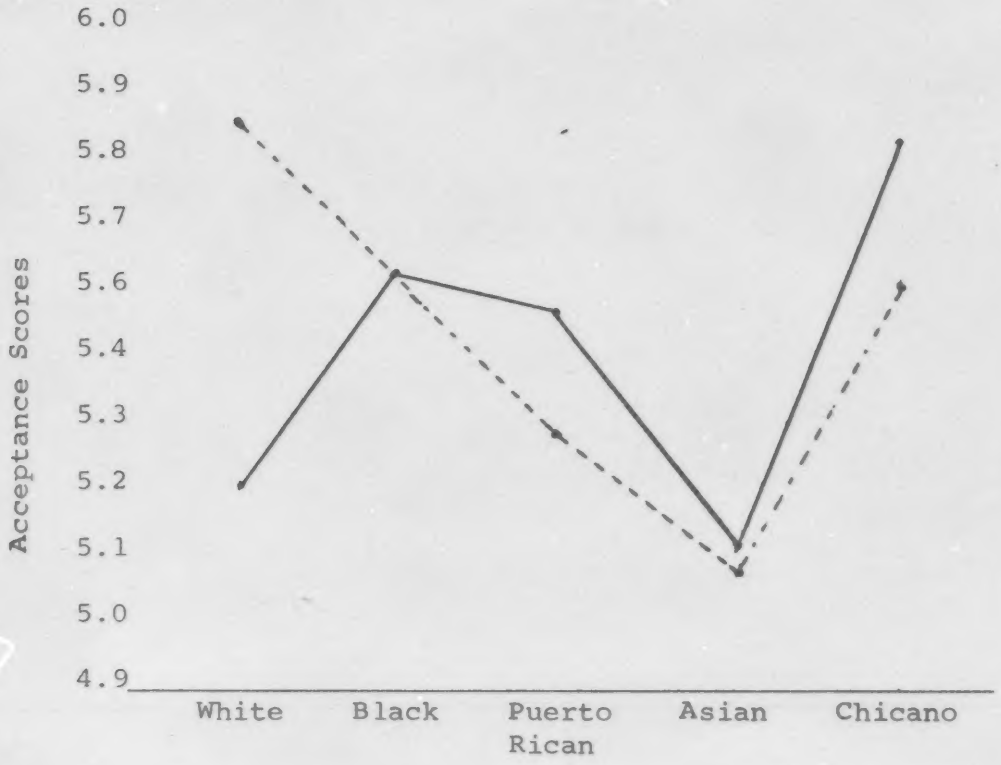
Race emerges as the variable having the largest main effect variance. The effect is large enough to be significant at the .001 level. Examination of the experimental and control group means presented by racial groups in Table 5 shows these results.

TABLE 5

Means of Feelings of Acceptance Scores of Experimental and Control Groups of White, Black, Puerto Rican, Asian, and Chicano Children

Means	White	Black	Puerto Rican	Asian	Chicano
Experimental	5.87	5.62	5.25	5.07	5.62
Control	5.20	5.62	5.45	5.10	5.82

The display of these means in graphic form clearly depicts the pattern of these results. From Figure 1, p. 66, it may be noted that the white experimental group children were much higher in their feelings of acceptance than were the control group children. The black experimental and control group scores were identical, whereas the scores for the experimental group Puerto Rican, Asian and Chicano children were lower, though not significantly so, than for the control



Experimental group = - - - - - - - - - - - -

Control group = _____

Note. Minimum possible score = 1; maximum = 7.

Figure 1. Means of feelings of acceptance scores of experimental and control group white, black, Puerto Rican, Asian, and Chicano Children.

groups. The means for both the experimental and control group Asian children are low, while they were high for the Chicanos. These are puzzling results. The following attempt to account for them is admittedly conjectural.

A basic readily observable difference to be noted on visiting the five schools from which the samples of children were drawn is that they function under very different philosophies. The school attended by the white children in the study is characterized by comparatively open and child-centered approaches to classroom organization and management. Individual initiative, assertiveness, and activity by the children tends to be encouraged. While there is little evidence of lack of discipline, the pervasive climate in the school is one of bustling activity in a milieu of freedom to move about, talk, and engage in self-directed activities. The school mirrors accurately the concept of the nature of a good educational institution as perceived by a stable middle-class suburban community.

The black, Puerto Rican and Asian samples were drawn from fairly traditional public schools in New York City. There are differences among these schools, but it would generally be agreed that they tend to be more structured, traditional, and teacher directed than the school attended by the white children. It would be fair to say that these

schools also strive to provide the kind of education valued by the parents and their communities. The Chicano children attend a school in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The school plant is modern and is designed with large open spaces to encourage the use of newer "open classroom" methods of instruction. The instructional program would appear to be transitional between traditional and open approaches to teaching.

It is possible that the patterns of feelings of acceptance scores in Figure 1 present a realistic picture of the situation depicted in Test II, as seen by all five groups. The mean scores for the white experimental and control group children are significantly different. Only the Asian children's scores are lower than for the control group whites. Yet the white experimental group mean is the highest. This may be considered a measure of the effectiveness of Vegetable Soup in engendering feelings of empathy for the "outsider." It is possible that the feeling may have been manifested clearly only by the group accustomed to having comparatively more of a role in dealing independently with problems. In the school setting with white children it was more realistic to imagine that they could actually do something to help the "new child in school." Children with more traditional school experience would, in a realistic appraisal of the situation, be more likely to see that the problem was one for the teacher

to handle. One must remember, however, that all of the white children were a part of the same "open" setting. And if this was the major contributing factor, then the mean scores for the viewers (experimental group) and non-viewers (control group) would possibly have been closer. Vegetable Soup, it seems had quite an impact on the experimental group children. The low scores of the Asian and the high mean scores of the Chicano children appear to reflect general cultural differences in basic inclusiveness of others, that appears again in the analysis of friendship choice-making patterns to be presented in reference to Test III.

The low mean scores of the Asians in response to acceptance of outsiders, as well as the tendency to cluster together as evidenced in friendship choices (Test III) are quite possibly a result of an in-group value system. Among other factors to be considered in their responses are geographic boundaries, political issues and attitudes of society toward Asians.

The findings for question II are that when the experimental and control group children were compared as a whole, there were no differences in their responses to test items measuring the degree of their feelings of acceptance for others who are "outsiders" to their group. There are no differences in response whether the "outsiders" are of the same

race as the respondent or a different race.

When the data were analyzed by race, the white experimental children were found to measure significantly higher than the control group on the feelings of acceptance for outsiders. In three other (Puerto Rican, Asian and Chicano) racial groups, the experimental group children had lower scores than the controls, but this difference is slight and not statistically significant. A follow-up on this aspect of the study would appear appropriate.

Question 3. Did the children in the experimental group give a higher level of friendship choices (indicating higher feelings of friendship) than the control group?

A major thrust for all of the shows in the Vegetable Soup series is to teach positive acceptance of people who may be different from one's own group. It was expected that if children could be exposed in positive ways to people from other cultures or subcultures; if they would learn something about the differences and similarities of their language, traditions, and ways of living; then they would have a tendency to respond more positively to people from cultures other than their own. By inference, then, if the experimental group children responded with a higher level of friendship choices for the 24 pictures in Test III, they were reflecting greater positive acceptance of the individuals portrayed.

Recalling the design of Test III, as described in Chapter III, each experimental and control group child made sociometric choices regarding 24 children portrayed by photographs. The choices were made on four levels of preference for these children as friends. This meant, therefore, that each child could elect to place the pictures in a pattern ranging from all 24 pictures in the lowest level of preference, labeled category (1) to all pictures in the highest level of preference, labeled category (4). A level of friendliness rating for any given child could be obtained by examining the relative numbers of pictures placed by each child in categories (1), (2), (3), or (4). This method could also be used to estimate the child's level of friendliness toward races, sexes, or ages.

To illustrate, the analysis could be performed as follows: There were four pictures of black children in the set of 24, two boys and two girls. Using the category numbers (1) to (4) as a scale of friendship level points if he placed all four pictures of black children in level one, and a maximum of sixteen friendship level points if he placed them all in category four. The authors are fully aware about the assumptions being made regarding equal interval scaling in using this approach. An alternative approach utilizing the frequency distributions of choices at each level was

also used, but this had the limitation of producing cumbersome analyses.

Table 6 presents the results of an analysis of variance treatment of the friendship level patterns derived from the cumulation of scores expressed in levels of choice weighted from one to four.

From the analysis of variance table it may be observed that there was a significant difference between the experimental and control group children in the level of friendliness exhibited by their sociometric choices. The difference was in favor of the experimental group (experimental group mean = 9.97; control group mean= 9.38). The F value obtained of 6.059 was large enough to be significant at the .05 level of confidence. There was a highly significant difference between races in the degree of friendliness expressed through their sociometric choices. The F value obtained was 39.455, a value large enough to be significant at well beyond the .01 level. As will be shown in the analysis to be developed below, a major source of the variance among races was attributable to very high friendship choices by the black children and very low ones by the Asians. There was no significant difference between sexes on levels of friendship choices given. It is important to recall that only five of the racial groups of children were included in

TABLE 6

Analysis of Variance of Means of Friendship Choices

by Experimental and Control Groups, Race and Sex

Source of Variation	Sums of Squares	df	Squares	F
Between Subjects	19413.67	399	48.65	
A = Exp. Cont.	210.04	1	210.04	6.059**
B = Race	5470.70	4	1367.67	39.455*
C = Sex	57.04	1	57.04	1.646
A - D	55.85	4	13.96	.403
A - C	25.62	1	25.62	.739
B - C	105.47	4	26.36	.761
A - B - C	316.63	4	79.15	2.284
SS/Groups	13172.30	380	34.66	111.000
Within Subjects	9854.00	2000	4.92	
D = Friend	628.12	5	125.62	29.680*
D - A	73.60	5	14.72	3.478*
D - B	540.18	20	27.00	6.381*
D - C	193.90	5	38.78	9.162*
D - A - B	73.20	20	3.66	.865
D - A - C	33.22	5	6.64	1.570
D - B - C	130.98	20	6.54	1.547
D - A - B - C	138.66	20	6.93	1.638**
DSS/Groups	8042.10	1900	4.23	111.000
Total	29267.67	2399	12.19	

* Significant at .01 level
** Significant at .05 level

this analysis. The sixth group, the Native Americans, was not included since these children did not meet the sampling parameters set for the study. The five groups, or 400 children, included in the study did make sociometric choices of all six racial/ethnic groups represented by the children's photographs used in the test instruments.

The following discussion is directed to the within subjects variance analysis presented in the bottom half of Table 6. The within-subjects analysis represents the levels of choices received for the pictures of the six racial groups. In the between-subjects analysis presented above the question asked was: How friendly did the children in each of the five racial groups feel towards others? In the within-subjects analysis the question asked was: How friendly did the children studied feel toward the six ethnic groups represented by the photographs?

In the within-subjects analysis the symbol "D" in Table 6 represents accumulated scores by repeated measures of levels of choices received for each of the 24 children's pictures. It may be noted that the differences in means were highly significant for all friendship scores given in children's pictures. They were higher for the experimental groups; they differed significantly by race; and they differed by sex. The obtained values of F, which were 29.680,

3.478, 6.381, and 9.162, respectively, were large enough to be significant at beyond the .01 level. The interaction effect between "D," experimental-control, race, and sex was significant at the .05 level of confidence. There clearly are differences between the way the experimental and control group children responded to the "choice of friends" test. These differences can be shown with greater specificity through the analysis presented below.

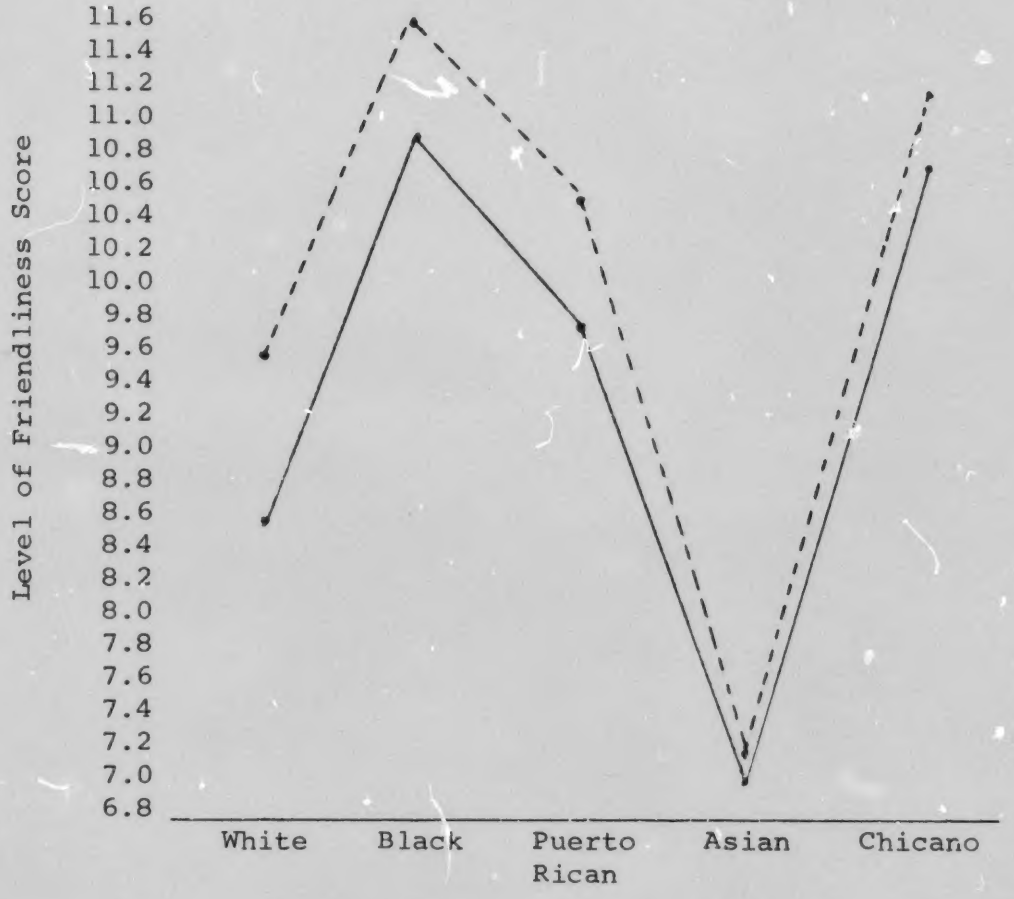
From Table 7 it may be noted that the average friendship choices given are higher in level for the experimental groups in all five racial/ethnic groups. These means are based on friendliness scores that can range from 4 to 16 as described above. It is readily seen that there are wide differences on friendliness scores between the black children (total mean 11.27) and the Asian children (total mean 7.03). To display these differences more distinctly the experimental and control group means for all five groups are presented in a line graph in Figure 2, p. 77.

TABLE 7

Means of Friendship Choice Levels Given by White Black, Puerto Rican, Asian and Chicano Children from Experimental and Control Groups

Means	White	Black	Puerto Rican	Asian	Chicano
Experimental	9.65	11.57	10.44	7.08	11.12
Control	8.64	10.97	9.66	6.98	10.64
E/C Total	9.14	11.27	10.05	7.03	10.88

Note. Minimum score = 4; maximum score = 16.



Experimental group = - - - - - - - - - - - -

Control group = _____

Note. Minimum score = 4; maximum score = 16.

Figure 2. Means of friendship choice levels given by white, black, Puerto Rican, Asian and Chicano children from experimental and control groups.

By examining the spread between the curves for the experimental and control groups it may be noted that the curve is higher for the experimental groups at all points in the graph. The greatest difference appears in the white groups, whereas there is practically no difference for the Asian group. The contrast between the levels of friendship scores between the black and Asian children is the most dramatic of all. It is this difference that accounts for a large portion of the variance which appears in all of the statistical analyses that were conducted.

The picture of the social preference dynamics revealed by the "choice of friends" test emerges even more clearly when the patterns of levels of friendship choices received by the six ethnic groups involved in the study are examined. Table 8 presents the means of friendship choices received from experimental and control groups for white, black, Puerto Rican, Asian, and Native American children as portrayed by pictures. The means for all six of the ethnic groups are found to be higher for the experimental than control groups. But for the black children the difference is almost imperceptible, since they are 8.93 and 8.90 respectively. The black group also received the lowest of the six sets of mean scores. This is dramatically shown in the line graph found in Figure 3.

TABLE 8

Means of Friendship Choice Levels Received for White, Black, Puerto Rican, Asian, Chicano, and Native American Children's Pictures from Experimental and Control Groups

Means	White	Black	Puerto Rican	Asian	Chicano	Native American
Experimental	10.26	8.93	9.38	10.19	10.94	10.13
Control	9.31	8.90	9.19	9.44	10.21	9.24
E/C Total	9.78	8.91	9.28	9.81	10.57	9.69

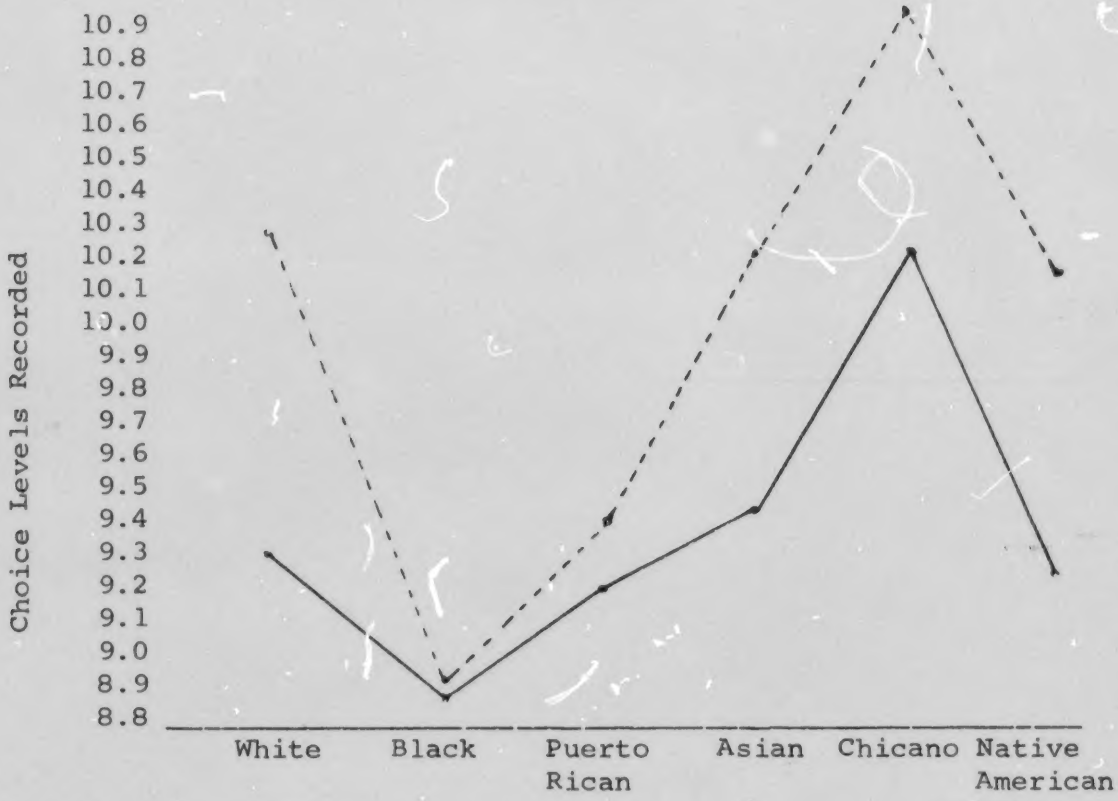
Note. Minimum score = 4; maximum score = 16.

The most compelling fact emerging from this analysis is that while the effects of viewing the sixteen Vegetable Soup programs clearly are to increase the levels of choices toward other children, they were most influential in raising the preferential status of the white children. Although Vegetable Soup was next most influential in raising the preferential status of the Chicano children, the above scores represent gains for every group. In reference to the gains made with the Chicano group, one needs to make clear that the four pictures of Chicano children used in Test III are the most

similar to the pictures of the four white children in terms of Caucasian characteristics. For the black children, who are the most readily identified by their racial characteristics, there was very little difference between the experimental and control groups. It could be concluded, then, that the experiment worked--significantly so--but the mean test scores of total groups did not reveal expected results for blacks. A significant proportion of the segments in the 16 shows seen by the experimental groups placed emphasis on intergroup awareness and acceptance between races. Some of these segments focused on black Americans. If the analysis cited above is a true measure of attitudes towards blacks then perhaps a more didactic approach is needed in stressing positive intergroup relations with black children.

One more table will be presented to complete the picture to be seen from the social acceptance data derived from the sociometric tests used in Test item III. Table 9 shows the friendship choices received by the six ethnic groups as given by the five ethnic groups choosing. These are the means for all 400 children (experimental and control) in the basic study.

The most interesting column and row to be examined in this table is that for black children. From the row of choices



Experimental Group = - - - - - - - - - - -

Control Group = _____

Note. Minimum score = 4; maximum score = 16

Figure 3. Total Ethnic Group Means of Friendship choice levels received for white, black, Puerto Rican, Asian, Chicano, and Native American children's pictures from experimental and control groups.

given by the black children it may be seen that they gave a higher level of friendship choices to the Puerto Rican and Chicano children than they did for black children. Further interpretation of the table-shows that blacks did not receive lowest friendship scores from each individual group, even though blacks' scores were lowest when mean scores were taken of all groups combined. For example, whites chose Puerto Rican and Native American fewer times than choosing other ethnic groups, Puerto Ricans chose blacks fewer times, Chicanos chose Puerto Ricans fewer times and Asians chose blacks fewer times.

The data appear to reflect to some degree the finding that has appeared in previous research. Black children seek affiliation with the society and yet this desire is not reciprocated to the same degree, by individual groups (Goodman, 1952, Moreland, 1958, 1962). It is likely that these social preference dynamics are not going to be influenced to the desired degree by the viewing of sixteen half-hour television shows. One must remember however, that the experimental group (viewers) did have higher friendship scores than non-viewers, even for black children.

There were no discernible differences by sex for experimental groups for the friendship choices given. The experimental group means for friendship choices were higher

TABLE 9

Individual Ethnic Group Means of Friendship Choice Levels Received for White, Black, Puerto Rican, Asian, Chicano, and Native American Children's Pictures from the Five Basic Racial Groups of Children Studied

	Groups Chosen					
Means	White	Black	Puerto Rican	Asian	Chicano	Native American
Choosers						
White	9.25	8.73	8.47	9.45	10.27	8.70
Black	10.83	11.35	11.75	10.83	11.75	11.11
Puerto Rican	10.47	8.55	10.13	9.60	11.13	10.42
Asian	7.23	5.52	5.78	8.00	8.35	7.31
Chicano	11.12	10.41	10.28	11.20	11.36	10.90

Note. Minimum score = 4; maximum score = 16; n = 400

whether they were made by girls or boys. The experimental group means were 10.02 and 9.9 by girls and boys respectively, while the control group means were 9.4 and 9.12.

In addition to the analyses presented above, separate chi square tests of the experimental and control group children's responses to each of the 24 pictures used in Test III were carried out. These analyses were performed on the

basis of frequency distributions derived from crossbreaks by race, sex, and age group. Not all of these analyses can be presented; only a sampling of the kinds of results obtained will be reported in the section that follows.

TABLE 10

Responses of Puerto Rican Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Youngest White Female (W-1)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	9	7	8	16	40
Total Pct.	11.2	8.8	10.0	20.0	50.0
Control	14	14	6	6	40
Total Pct.	17.5	17.5	7.5	7.5	50.0
Column	23	21	14	22	80
Total	28.7	26.3	17.5	27.5	100.0

Raw chi square = 8.22146 3 degrees of freedom.

Significance = .0411.

Table 10 examines responses of the Puerto Rican ethnic group to the photographs of the younger white female. Sixteen of the experimental children, or 20% of the total number of experimental children, chose the youngest white female (W-1) as their best friend. Six children, or 7.5% of the children in the control group, chose W-1 as their best friend.

TABLE 11

Responses of Asian Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship Toward Young White Females (W-1)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	27	7	3	3	40
Total Pct.	33.7	8.8	3.7	3.7	50
Control	18	9	9	4	40
Total Pct.	22.5	11.2	11.2	5.0	50.0
Column Total	45	16	12	7	80
	56.3	20.0	15.0	8.8	100.0

Raw Chi Square = 5.19286 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = .1582.

Table 11 examines the differences between the experimental and control group of Asian children as they respond to the youngest white female (W-1). Although there were no significant differences between the experimental and control group, the contrasts between highest choice and lowest choice were quite extreme. In the experimental group three children chose W-1 as their best friend. Twenty-seven of the experimental group rated W-1 as their lowest choice. In the control group four children rated W-1 as their highest choice and 18 children gave W-1 the lowest rating in choices of friends.

TABLE 12

Responses of White Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Youngest White Male (W-2)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	10	7	12	11	40
Total Pct.	12.5	8.8	15.0	13.7	50.0
Control	17	12	8	3	40
Total Pct.	21.2	15.0	10.0	3.7	50.0
Column Total	27	19	20	14	80
	33.7	23.8	25.0	17.5	100.0

Raw chi square = 8.50203 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = .0367.

In table 12 we find that there is a significant difference between the experimental and control groups in their response to choice of youngest white male as friend (.0367). In the experimental group, 11 of the 40 white children rated the youngest white male in the highest category, in contrast to three children in the control group.

Ten children in the experimental group gave the youngest white male the lowest rating, while 17 of the control group children rated young white males in the lowest category.

In table 13, in the Asian experimental group, four children, or 5%, rated W-2, the youngest white male, as best friend, while 20 children, or 25%, chose W-2 the least

number of times.

In the control group, 5%, or 4 children, gave W-2 a high rating while 3%, or 24 children, rated W-2 the lowest.

TABLE 13

Responses of Asian Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Youngest White Male (W-2)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	20	6	10	4	40
Total Pct.	25.0	7.5	12.5	5.0	50.0
Control	24	6	6	4	40
Total Pct.	30.0	7.5	7.5	5.0	50.0
Column	44	12	16	8	80
Total	55.0	15.0	20.0	10.0	100.0

Raw chi square = 1.36364 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = .7141.

Table 14 examines the difference between the experimental and control group of Asian children as they responded to W-3, the oldest white female.

In the experimental group, 22 children, or 27.5%, gave the oldest white female the lowest rating. Twenty-five children, or 31.3%, rated W-3 at the lowest level. Relatively few children in both groups gave the oldest white female the highest rating.

TABLE 14

Responses of Asian Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Oldest White Female (W-3)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	22	6	5	7	40
Total Pct.	27.5	7.5	6.3	8.8	50.0
Control	25	7	4	4	40
Total Pct.	31.3	8.8	5.0	5.0	50.0
Column	47	13	9	11	80
Total	58.7	16.2	11.2	13.7	100.0

Raw chi square = 1.19771 3 degrees of freedom

Signigicance = .7536

In Table 15, one child, or 1.2% of the Asian experimental children, chose B-1, the youngest black female as their best friend. Forty percent of this group gave B-1 the lowest rating.

In the control group, 3 children, or 3.7%, chose the black youngest girl (B-1) as best friend, while 27, or 33.7%, rated B-1 in the lowest category.

TABLE 15

Responses of Asian Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Youngest Black Female (B-1)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	32	4	3	1	40
Total Pct.	40.0	5.0	3.7	1.2	50.0
Control	27	6	4	3	40
Total Pct.	33.7	7.5	5.0	3.7	50.0
Column	59	10	7	4	80
Total	73.7	12.5	8.8	5.0	100.0

Raw chi square = 1.96659 3 degrees of freedom

TABLE 16

Responses of the Puerto Rican Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Youngest Black Female (B-1)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	14	13	6	7	40
Total Pct.	17.5	16.2	7.5	8.8	50.0
Control	20	3	7	10	40
Total Pct.	25.0	3.7	8.8	12.5	50.0
Column Total	34	16	13	17	80
	42.5	20.0	16.2	21.2	100.0

Raw chi square = 7.915 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = .0478.

In Table 16, we find that 8.8%, or 7 children of the experimental group of Puerto Rican children, gave the black female the highest rating. Fourteen children (17.5%) gave the youngest black female (B-1) the lowest rating.

The control group indicated that 12.5%, or 10 children, chose B-1 as best friend and 25%, or 20 children, rated B-1 as lowest choice. The differences between the experimental and control group was statistically significant (.0478).

TABLE 17

Responses of Puerto Rican Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Youngest Black Male (B-2)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	23	1	6	10	40
Total Pct.	28.8	1.2	7.5	12.5	50.0
Control	15	9	10	6	40
Total Pct.	18.8	11.2	12.5	7.5	50.0
Column Total	38	10	16	16	80
	47.5	12.5	20.0	20.0	100.0

Raw chi square = 10.08421 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = .0179

Table 17 indicates that there were significant differences between the experimental and control groups of Puerto Rican children responding to the youngest black male (B-2), .0179. Ten, or 12.5% of the experimental group children, rated B-2, youngest black male, the highest, while 23, or 28.8%, rated B-2 the lowest. Six, or 7.5% of the control group children, rated B-2 highest, while 15, or 18.8%, gave him the lowest rating.

TABLE 18

Responses of Black Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship Toward Oldest Asian Girl (A-3)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	3	5	14	18	40
Total Pct.	3.7	6.3	17.5	22.5	50.0
Control	15	6	12	7	40
Total Pct.	18.8	7.5	15.0	8.8	50.0
Column Total	18 22.5	11 13.7	26 32.5	25 31.3	80 100.0

Raw chi square = 13.08476 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = .0054.

Table 18 shows that 18, or 2.25%, of the black experimental children selected the oldest Asian girl as their best friend, while 3, or 3.7%, rated Asians lowest. The difference between the black experimental and control group was significant (.0054) in their response to the youngest Asian female (A-1). In the control group 7, or 8.8%, chose A-3 as best friend and 14, or 18.8%, chose A-3 least.

TABLE 19

Responses of Puerto Rican Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Oldest Asian Male (A-4)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	10	15	3	12	40
Total Pct.	12.5	18.8	3.7	15.0	50.0
Control	19	6	6	9	40
Total Pct.	23.8	7.5	7.5	11.2	50.0
Column	29	21	9	21	80
Total	36.2	26.2	11.2	26.2	100.0

Raw chi square = 8.07882 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = .0444.

Table 19 reveals that in the experimental group, 12, or 15%, of the Puerto Rican youngsters chose A-4, oldest Asian male, as highest while 10, or 12.5%, rated A-4 least.

In the control group 9, or 11.2%, gave A-4 the highest rating while 19, or 23.8%, chose A-4 in the lowest position of friendship. There were significant differences between the experimental and control group.

TABLE 20

Responses of White Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Youngest Chicano Girl (C-1)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	9	4	15	12	40
Total Pct.	11.2	5.0	18.8	15.0	50.0
Control	19	4	5	12	40
Total Pct.	23.8	5.0	6.3	15.0	50.0
Column Total	28	8	20	24	80
	35.0	10.0	25.0	30.0	100.0

Raw chi square = 8.5743 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = .0356.

Table 20 indicates there were significant differences between the experimental and control group of white children in their response to the youngest Chicano girl (C-1).

In the experimental group, 12, or 15% of the children, gave C-1 the highest choice of friendship, while 9, or 11.2%,rated C-1 lowest. In the control group 12, or 15%, rated C-1 highest while 19, or 23.8%,rated C-1 lowest. There were significant differences between the experimental and control groups.

TABLE 21

Responses of White Children Indicating Feelings of Friendship toward Youngest Native American Male (N-2)

	Lowest	Third Highest	Second Highest	Highest	Row Total
Experimental	14	7	12	7	40
Total Pct.	17.5	8.8	15.0	8.8	50.0
Control	27	6	3	4	40
Total Pct.	33.7	7.5	3.7	5.0	50.0
Column Total	41	13	15	11	80
	51.3	16.2	18.8	13.7	100.0

Raw chi square = 10.41706 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = .0153.

In Table 21 it is seen that the responses of the experimental group of white children was significantly different from the control group (.0153). Seven, or 8.8% of the experimental group, rated N-2, the youngest Native American male, at the highest level in choice of friends. In the control group, 4, or 5% of the white population, rated N-2 in highest position while 27, or 33.7%, gave N-2 the lowest rating.

In viewing the tables in general one readily sees that there are some real differences in raw scores. The summative research tests for the effect the show had on the

experimental group as compared with the control group. If the shows were effective in any way, the following would be somewhat obvious:

1. Raw scores of experimental group children tested would be somewhat evenly distributed.

2. Experimental group would rate higher on choice of friends than control group, particularly in choice of best friend.

3. In the control group, raw scores would not be as evenly distributed as in experimental group.

4. There would be higher scores in lowest and next to lowest category in choice of friends in control group.

For a clearer example of the description of the tables see Table 10, Puerto Rican responses to youngest white female (W-1).

In general there was a real difference in the scores of the experimental as compared to those of the control group. Therefore, in relation to the question about friendship, the shows very definitely had an impact on the viewers. A good example of this is seen in data collected from black children in response to the youngest white female (W-1). Fifteen of the experimental group chose W-1 (the youngest white female) as second highest in choice of friend, while in the control group, only eight children chose W-1 as

second highest choice. It becomes evident from this study that blacks are fairly open in terms of selection of friends but are not responded to as well by members of other groups. Reasons may be attributed to social, educational and/or political reasons. The raw scores of children from black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano children were distributed somewhat more evenly than those of the Asian population. Scores of Asian children were extremely low in the category marked highest choice, and a rather high number and percentage of Asian children rated other ethnic groups lowest in choice of friends.

Other overall findings in relation to individual pictures were as follows:

1. A larger number of the Chicano and Puerto Rican populations rated the youngest white male (W-2) in the "best friend" category than did any other ethnic group.

2. Blacks were chosen the least number of times as best friend by mean score of total group, but only by Asian and Puerto Rican individual groups.

3. Puerto Ricans were rated next to the lowest in choice of friends by mean scores of total group but actually received lowest score from only one individual group.

4. White children made the most significant gain, choosing Asian and Chicano children highest.

5. Chicano children were rated highest by total ethnic groups in choice of friends.

6. There was some difference, though not significant, in attitude of Asian children who viewed the shows and those wo did not.

7. Although Chicano and Black children were the highest overall best friend "choosers," they did not show the most significant gain between their experimental and control groups.

8. Chicanos were the only group that chose themselves first as a group.

In Table 10, the difference between the experimental and control group of Puerto Rican children is indicative of the effect the shows had on the children who viewed the shows. The fact that 20% of the experimental children chose the white female as best friend against 7.5% of the control group suggests an awareness of other ethnic groups in question. In general, though, the Puerto Rican group rated whites higher than the whites rated the Puerto Ricans. Although there was a difference between experimental and control group scores, we can still assume that whites are somewhat favored as a racial group with some Puerto Ricans.

Table 11 indicates clearly the strong feelings of ethnicity the Asians have about themselves. Rarely did

their scores suggest or indicate any real openness toward other ethnic groups. One can see from careful scrutiny of their scores that verbal statements were weighed carefully when the testing situation required a response to or about other ethnic groups. This indicates characteristics which are not outreaching. This could be based on their close family ties which would essentially lessen the need for reaching out to others. In terms of overt behavior, Asian children exhibited less responses than any other group. This made it extremely difficult to know exactly what was transmitted or to what degree there was any change. Because verbal responses were few, results were drawn mainly from the formal testing situation (questionnaire).

It is difficult to describe the difference between the experimental and control group of white children in terms of their response to the youngest white male. Yet there was a statistically significant difference (.0367).

Tables 14 and 15 further support extreme cautiousness about relationships with ethnic groups outside of the Asian group. Although percentages are high in the category of lowest rating in choice of friends with all groups other than Asian, they were extremely high or highest in relation to blacks. Additional studies should be undertaken on Asian/black relationships. The Zeligs (1947) study sug-

gests that interpersonal relationships were more positive where there was evidence of personal relationship between groups. The Asians live in isolated communities many times, just as the blacks do, and de facto segregation has many side effects. Lack of awareness of other groups lack of understanding of other cultures, and lack of knowledge about contributing factors which affect lives of all in a society not only cause difficulties in relationships but foster continued negative feelings and discrimination of other ethnic groups.

In the Asian experimental group 33.7% of the children gave the youngest white female the lowest rating, whereas 40% of the Asians gave the youngest black female the lowest rating. The Asians chose blacks as best friends less than any other group. The high choices of the Asian group were Chicano, Native American, White and Puerto Rican groups respectively.

There were significant differences between the experimental and control group of Puerto Rican youngsters in reference to their choice of oldest black male friends (.0179) and youngest black female (.0478).

Although there was a high percentage of Asians rating blacks very low in choice of friends, 27.5% of the black experimental children and 20% of the control group chose the

youngest Asian female (A-1) as best friend, or rated highest in choice of friends.

The fact that the experimental scores are higher is indicative of some interaction between groups viewing and ethnic groups being viewed.

Question 4. Did the children in the experimental group have less tendency than the control group to stereotype their anticipation of what people could do occupationally on the basis of sex and race?

It may be recalled that the children were asked in Test IV to place the pictures of the 24 children previously used in Test III on 11 occupations depicted by line drawings. They were asked to "put these children's pictures on the jobs you think they might work in when they grow up." The occupations were: nursing, supermarket worker, teacher, judge, workman/woman, farm worker, doctor, office worker, bus driver, cleaning person, and cowboy/cowgirl. Only the older children (eight and nine year olds) were asked to respond to this task. Hence there were 100 experimental and 100 control group children responding to this test. An early concern with this test had been that the children would have difficulty responding to it. When the test was administered most of the children performed the task with great dispatch and little evidence of difficulty.

Chi square tests of the frequency distributions of all 24 children's pictures over the 11 categories of occupations were performed. The chi squares were calculated separately for each of the 24 pictures by experimental and control group, and by sex and race. These analyses generated a very large number of separate chi square tables. What was found as a result of these analyses was so random there is no warrant for presenting them in detail. There were no consistent patterns of response to be found in any of the analyses.

Apparently children of eight and nine have little awareness of sexual or racial stereotyping of occupational roles at least in the abstract sense called for in this test. It would seem the reason the children had so little difficulty in responding to this test was that they were not discriminating in the formal testing situation. To them the issue of sex role and racial stereotyping is unlikely to be seen as a problem. Hence the responses were virtually random for both the experimental and control group.

However, the verbal responses given by children while viewing, do indicate some interest in many of the occupations seen on the programs.

Children of all ethnic groups made some remarks about either the occupations themselves, or the people holding particular jobs. For example black and other children were

quite interested in the black hair stylist. Others expressed interest either verbally or through facial expression, in dancers, builders, the jockey, the ceramist and the harpsichordist. Therefore, although statistical responses were randomized, the interest in particular occupations was evident.

Also, it is the research team's judgment that it is a positive indicator that the children did not place various ethnic groups in high or low status jobs. The children clearly saw the possibility that any person might perform any job.

The rest of this chapter presents anecdotal data in the form of children's responses and verbatim comments to the specific shows. It had been determined that observation and recording of children's spontaneous and subjective reactions might prove to be an invaluable source of information to the researchers and in fact to all persons who were involved in the production of the series. The researchers' recorded statements and actions of the children during each viewing session. They are presented with little or no editing and therefore reflect stylistic differences.

White Sample

Setting

The site for sampling the white children to be included in the study had to meet certain criteria:

1. The school authorities, teachers, and parents to be affected had to approve the study.

2. The school(s) selected had to have facilities available (free classroom space, safe storage for equipment) to make the study feasible.

3. The school(s) had to have a child population reasonably comparable to the child samples drawn from the Black, Asian, Puerto Rican, and other groups in such population parameters as economic status.

The first two criteria were readily met in several interested school systems. The third was vastly more difficult in that income levels and other socioeconomic variables are skewed markedly in favor of white populations and living areas, wherever they are located in large enough groups. The Landing School in Glen Cove, New York, came the closest to meeting these criteria and was therefore selected.

The Landing School has a highly varied pupil population in terms of ethnic representation. While over half of the children are non-Hispanic whites, there is also a sizable representation of black, Asian, Hispanic, and Puerto Rican

children in the school.

This section includes discussions of activities addressed to implementing the evaluation design, utilizing samples of Caucasian children. Presented also is a description of additional activities, beyond the research design, exploring the reactions of older elementary school children to the shows. As each of the 16 tapes was shown, running anecdotal accounts of children's reactions to each show were recorded. These included direct quotes of children's comments that were overheard, estimates of duration and quality of attention to segments of each show, and subjective judgments as to the level of comprehension the children had to the content of the segments.

Children's Responses and Comments

During show 1, both older and younger children were enthusiastic and completely sustained interest in "Outerscope I" and "Martin." The "Guacamole" segment is remarkably effective in every show. Attention faded with the "Drum," "Hold Out Your Hand," and "Words Have Stories" segments. This was extensive with the younger children. They simply began to move away from the monitor toward other objects of interest in the room, returning only when the "Martin" segment came on.

There were excellent attention and involvement with the "Outerscope I" segment in Show 2; but as the "Lester," "Words Have Stories" and "City Planning" segments came on the attention level dropped off, particularly for the younger children, to the point where just before the "Martin" segment came on only three children in the younger group remained in front of the monitor. It was necessary to call the children back to watch "Martin" but the attention had wavered so seriously, even this segment wasn't watched throughout by more than about half of the children.

Programs 1 and 2 were viewed in an open carpeted space with much of the informality one would find in a living room. Because of the carpeting and spaciousness of the room, noise control was effective. Further, the children were well behaved and nondisruptive. They simply did not stay with the television shows whenever the interest level lagged. They moved away toward more appealing areas of the room--to watch the rooster or the garter snake, or to play with the flannel board or puzzles, or to look at books.

Program 3 was set up at the opposite end of the kindergarten room--away from the open carpeted space and containing chairs and tables for the children. The introduction of this simple element of structure sharply reduced the tendency of children to move away from the monitor when they lost in-

terest in the content. "Outerscope" and "Martin" were excellent. When the jockey segment came on the children in the younger group began to ask to go to the bathroom or for permission to go to some other part of the room.

The experimenter changed the methods of presenting the shows to the more structured format with some reluctance. The living room-like setting first used applied a stern and realistic test of the holding power of the shows. The introduction of more structure in the form of formal seating gave greater assurance that children would actually view the shows in total. Without this, a comparison of experimental and control group children would have been obviated.

The experimenter was invariably greeted with a great deal of excited anticipation by the children upon arrival at the school to present the shows. They also sat in rapt attention for the "Outerscope I" segments. After this segment certain patterns associated with viewing the shows consistently emerged. The eight and nine year old children were far more attentive through the half-hour show. The six and seven year old children were extremely susceptible to distraction from most segments directly following "Outerscope I." Characteristically weak in holding the children's attention were those that were too "talky" and those that were too advanced conceptually. The occupations segments,

with the exception of the harpsichordist; the John Henry dance ; The Taos, New Mexico segment; and the Japanese Story Teller segment are illustrative of the attention losers.

Practically none of the puns based on subtle nuances of humor were understood by any of the children, whether younger or older. Some examples:

The white woman saying to Martin's mother, "after all, nothing is either black or white."

The pun in "being tickled pink" (Show 3).

Martin's remark to Chinese boy, "You can always tell your grandparents I am your cousin from New York."

Lester being a "chip off the old block."

If the introduction of humor into the segments is intended to stimulate interest or positive response, it was unsuccessful with the white population. The white children in this sample were not able to comprehend the subtle plays on words that effectively communicate humor to adults. Particularly for the younger children, humor based on slapstick, as with the clumsy robber episode in the "Martin" segment, seemed to be far more effective.

Serious difficulties in getting the younger group of children to view the total show began with the end of the "Martin and His Boa" series. The younger children were eager to see the "Outerscope I" segment. It was possible

though often difficult, to motivate the white children to sit reasonably patiently while the segments they were least interested in were viewed because they wanted to see "Martin." With the cessation of the "Martin" series the children would begin in large numbers to just not look at the shows, or to quietly talk to each other, to ask to leave the room, and to move away from the monitor.

Segments such as the one on Aunt Airy were not attended well at all. A very small number of children continued actually watching the segment to its conclusion.

The crafts segments were very helpful because these did draw the children back into active attention and sustained their interest throughout. The recipes also held the children's attention, although their repetition bored some of them.

Show #0 had to be viewed in the library since the kindergarten room was scheduled for a place to hold parent teacher conferences. This room, though carpeted and well appointed, was uncomfortable in that it had very poor ventilation. The decision was made to show the total show to the eight and nine year old children, since it worked reasonably well with them. The show was cut to "Outerscope I"only with the younger children, because to attempt to force them to view the total show was likely to be counterproductive.

This tactic worked very well. The children were attentive and enthusiastically responsive. They reacted to the new arrangement favorably. Hence, from Shows 10 to 16 only the "Outerscope J." segment was shown to the younger children.

The younger children were very attentive to the "Oranges and Onions" episodes, but they clearly couldn't comprehend the subtler aspects of meanings involved with "Tree Treats" and "Yun Yuns." These segments are lovely and produced beautifully. The concept was presented in an extremely sophisticated manner, but was sometimes too subtle for the younger audience.

The Joey segments had a powerful impact on the eight and nine year olds. For many of these children Joey lived virtually in a foreign country or planet. Some quotations of comments, especially from the fourth grade children, are dramatic indices of the impact of these shows. Many of these comments were made in a state of virtual disbelief.

"What an ugly building!"

"Oh, wow, what a building!"

"Gee, they don't have much, do they--not half as much as we do!"

"What a crazy place to live. Why do they live like that?"

As they watched the family carrying their belongings

to the new apartment, "What are they doing? That's a crazy way to do things."

"Oh wow, what a house!"

In Show 16, when the white boys called Joey "a dirty Puerto Rican," there was a stunned silence, then one boy muttered, "I'd like to take a two-by-four and lay it across his (the white boy's) fanny."

When Joey's mother and father began to dance in the new apartment, one white girl whispered, "Oh my God, this is weird!" Her expression seemed to be based on the unusual behavior of the parents.

It is difficult to communicate the impact of these shows. To the experimenter, an experienced elementary teacher, the usefulness of just these segments in a social studies activity for developing intergroup awareness is very obvious and tantalizing. They are excellent in their authenticity and honest presentation of real social issues.

Viewing Experiences with Fifth Graders

One of the outcomes of the experience of showing the Vegetable Soup shows to six, seven, eight, and nine year olds was a growing awareness of the complexity of the attitudinal issues involved in them. While the shows were enjoyed by the younger children, it was obvious that many of these issues were beyond their level of comprehension. It was of

interest to contrast the reactions of older children who would be capable of the level of logical thinking necessary for a systematic analysis of attitudes. Also of interest was how interracial groups of older children would respond to these shows. Information was also desired regarding the level of interest Vegetable Soup would have for older children.

These were issues of great interest to the principal of Landing School in Glen Cove as well. He has a long-standing interest in the area of fostering intergroup relations and he was very interested in the Vegetable Soup shows as a useful instructional medium in this area as well. In addition, the school is attended by black, white, and Hispanic children. He was very helpful in making fifth grade children from these three racial/ethnic groups available for viewing the shows.

Twelve children, black, white, and Hispanic, and both girls and boys, began viewing the shows on May 6. The children's attendance was voluntary and they came together for the viewing at the end of the school day. Several of them gave up other interesting outside activities in order to attend. Scheduling difficulties made it possible for the children to view only the first six shows. Each show was discussed in an informal seminar-like setting after being viewed.

The effort was well worth it in view of what was learned. First and most importantly, the shows were extremely interesting to these fifth grade children. Their attention was avid and was consistently sustained throughout the six shows. In more homely terms, as expressed by one of the black girls, "I just love these shows! I could watch them all day long." The attention of the children rarely wavered with any of the segments, a response pattern that clearly differentiated them from the six to nine year olds.

The rapid "uptake" or latching on to the intended message being presented also was dramatically different for these more mature children. There was a far better and more accurate anticipation of events that would take place in given segments. In "Outerscope I" the children thought that the sugar, yeast, and water idea for a rocket propellant was hilarious and got into discussions as to what actually could be used. They also saw, long before the segment presented it, that "Outerscope I" would need a door.

The segments were enjoyed very much, even more than by the younger children. This enjoyment intensified throughout the six shows. "Hold Out Your Hand" in Show 1 received active attention.

The black children responded with ecstatic hilarity to Lester in Show 2 They thought that Lester's line at the

end of his song, "That's what you call gettin' down," wildly funny. The white children were perplexed.

In the discussion that followed the viewing of shows, one interesting observation made by the black children was that Black English, using words such as "bustin' suds," is not used in Glen Cove.

In Show 3, when the Angel Cordero segment was on, a white boy in the group pointed at a boy in the group and then at Cordero and said, "There goes Alfredo." The boy answered, "He got rich, man."

In the crafts segment one Hispanic boy said, as the pinata piece was on, to another Hispanic child, "Hey Freddie, do you want to do that (hit the pinata) ?"

When Martin's mother thought Nigel had died when she saw his shedded skin, a black girl said, "Poor Nigel, she's so stupid."

The melanin segment garnered rapt attention from everyone. As the point was being made about all people being the same color and that only the shades of color are different, one black child looked at her arm, studied it attentively, and finally said, "I guess I'm medium."

On many occasions during the viewing of these shows the children made comments about how important they were. What was being said might be epitomized by the comment of

one of the black girls: "These shows are so good, every kid in this school should see them. Then maybe they would understand something."

One of the Spanish speaking boys in the group translated and elaborated upon the comments in Spanish when they occurred, in the pinata and maracas-making segments, for example.

One interesting phenomenon occurred in the discussions that followed the viewing of each show. The children were very ready to discuss the less threatening aspects of the segments in any given show, but they were reluctant, indeed refused, to get involved in discussing the more touchy racially tinged issues evoked by some of the segments. The emotional reactions to the injustice of prejudice, for instance,were heard, seen, and felt as they were portrayed in the shows, as was often manifested by the overt reactions of the children as they viewed them. But they seemed too "hot to handle" in discussion and were therefore avoided.

The Vegetable Soup series is an excellent one for fifth grade children, since they understand the content of the shows. They readily perceive the message being transmitted. They have information of their own through which they can feed the intended meaning into the issues being presented. The shows are therefore easier for them to

understand. Since they don't have to work so hard to comprehend the meaning they enjoy the shows far more than the younger children do. Many of the segments would provide superb bases for children of the upper elementary and junior high school grades to learn about intergroup attitudes, their nature, how they are formed, and what could be done about them.

It would be interesting also to test the programs with children between the ages of 11 and 13 years. When children of this age group were exposed to the programs on an informal basis, there was tremendous response. Their ability to conceptualize the ideas presented lead us to believe that the programs might have an even greater effect on this older group than on the younger subjects.

Black Sample

The black population was drawn from an area in New York City which is totally black. Similarly, each ethnic group tested was drawn from areas populated predominantly by their own ethnic group.

P. S. 15 is a small elementary school in the St. Albans section of Queens. The school is rather old and has little space available for large group gatherings. The space used for the school auditorium is made of two converted classrooms. The seats are stationary old-fashioned auditorium-style seats. It was in this setting that the children viewed the television programs.

The two groups, randomly selected, viewed on Wednesday and Friday afternoons. They were divided by age with the younger group viewing first.

It was interesting that even though the auditorium was not a well lighted or bright room, some of the children still requested that the room be darkened even more. Viewing patterns of children's homes were obviously being displayed. The room was darkened slightly and the children thus became involved in viewing 16 programs of Vegetable Soup.

Following are some verbal responses to some of the shows as children watched them.

Children Responses and Comments

Show 1

Younger children:

"Can we see it again?"

Older children:

Offered advice to builders in building Outerscope.

Applauded when Martin told the white youngster that he would not see the snake and to tell his mother that he didn't play with any blacks.

To minority segment--"He sure is in a minority!"

Show 2

Younger children:

Provided answers for Martin; i. e., Martin implied that Larry, the white boy had stolen his snake. The black youngsters afraid that Martin would accuse the wrong person yelled out, "Oh no!" "She took it."

Show 3

Younger children:

About Cordero: "I know him," said one boy. "From where?" asked another child. "My father plays the horses," said the first youngster.

About Blast Off: "Now how did they get up in the air?" Children talked when Cordero was explaining about his

job, but quieted down when the craft segment came on.

About Recipe: "Why are they making the same thing every time?"

About color producing segment: "Oh, I see, Melanin."

Show 4

To Saniland: shrieked with delight when Sanilanders came on.

To Japanese Story-Teller: "She's Chinese." Showed awareness of black population to Asians in a general way. The black children were unable to make a distinction between Chinese and Japanese.

Show 6

Younger and older children:

Both groups of children viewed the program quietly for the most part. There was, however, some restless buzzing around during the segment which portrayed the Harpsichordist.

Show 7

Younger children:

About Indian Jewelry, one child said, "I made that."

To Afro American hairstyle, black children attended beautifully, particularly the boys.

About Corn Rows, black youngster stated, "My sister got that."

Older children:

Older group attended to the Japanese Rice Dish extremely well, remarking, "My mother makes that, that's brown rice."

It seems that the youngsters were seeing some similarity between this rice dish and a brown rice that's often served in their homes.

To children's hair segment, viewers responded by first feeling their own hair and remarking about hair models as it came out of the cake decorator. "That's my hair, curly,". . . "My hair straight, what your hair be like?" were some of the remarks heard.

To the phrase, "Don't forget to love it," the black children laughed.

To Luther, children laughed hysterically in appreciation of the cartoon.

Luther--Black child shows white child that her hair has been straightened, white child displays her newly curled hairstyle. Then, the rain comes and both hair styles revert to what they originally were.

Show 8

Older children:

Children wanted to know what a Chicano was, when this came up in the show. Answers given by some of the older children: Mexican and Spanish.

To Martin segment. Some negative verbal interaction. "He's all right for a black guy." "Knock that fat dude down." "I'd kick him."

Show 10

Younger children:

To Origami: Children tried to guess what was being made, watching carefully. "That's a hat, that's a bird," one said, with sincere interest.

To the word Sayonara: "Sayonara," they all said.

To sign language by Native American girl, some asked question, "Do you know what she's saying?" "Nope!"

Children watched very quietly throughout.

They displayed interest by doing and saying what was demonstrated by the Native American youngster in the program.

To segment with Alex and Carlos: children watched with interest and moved rhythmically to the beat of the Chinese drum.

Black children were extremely anxious about the situation of whether to include Carlos in the Lion Dance. "They gonna beat him up," they said. "This is good." The black

children breathed sighs of relief when Carlos was accepted by Asians. Perhaps they were seeing themselves in similar situations, enabling them to sympathize with Carlos.

Older children:

To Outerscope puppet's decision to turn the directions around: "Oh, oh! They gonna get lost!"

To What do you want to be? "I want to be a lawyer." Children watched intently the crafts project

To the sign language: they seemed literally glued to their seats. Children responded verbally to the sign language demonstration as well as acting out what they saw.

To Alex and Carlos: "Where's Martin?"

To lion dance episode, "Oh boy!" "Where's the the music?" "Don't they give no music?"

Children were anxious and giggled nervously. At the end of program they remarked, "A nice picture."

Show 13

Younger children:

To Yun-Yun: "What's Yun-Yun?"

To the Puerto Rican Potter: "He made a vase--Oh! Ooh!"

To Native American segment: "I wish I was Indian."

To Sweet Potato Pudding: "My momma made that already. That's just like sweet potato pie, only no crust." This really was an indication of positive identification of one's culture.

To the timing aspect of the recipe: They counted the minutes until the food was ready.

To Luther: Black children chimed in with Luther and said, "White-black," "White-black," and laughed at the end of the show. They really enjoyed the Luther segment. There was real understanding and ability to relate.

Show 1

Older children:

To Joey and the New Apartment Building: The incident with the white boys--"I'll punch them!" "Beat them up!"

At the end of Joey--"We want to see the end, is this the last show?"

About the Dashiki: "It is worn here, I have one."

Young black children grew more attentive as Joey progressed, and anxiously awaited the next series.

These brief comments provide some insight into children's real feelings about the shows they viewed. They are by no means exhaustive.

It is safe to assume that since these comments were spontaneous they do represent real feelings and attitudes of youngsters who watched the programs. Their comments enable recorders to see exactly what message is being transmitted to children, intended or unintended.

Since the shows were expected to have a cumulative effect, it would be interesting,therefore, to observe children's viewing and response patterns as they continue to watch all 39 programs.

Blacks are beginning to be somewhat discriminating about the roles they play on television, and it is possible that with the increased degree of visibility, attitudes of others might begin to change as well.

Appearances of black performers on screen, undoubtedly provided the black viewers with a feeling of pride, with members of this ethnic group being able to relate to their own race or to racial situations in special segments. This was evident in the "Martin" series. The lower-class black child who could not relate to Martin's socioeconomic level could still relate to his race. "Martin" therefore provides two levels of interaction from black children depending on their socioeconomic level, one group responding to his environment and the other group to his color.

There were segments in the Vegetable Soup programs

which elicited totally different responses from black and white children: Willie Tyler and the Luther cartoon strip.

Both these segments related to blacks mainly in terms of experience. For example, in the Willy Tyler segment black children had indeed experienced sitting on the "stoop" outside their homes or apartment buildings and being told not to go down the street. It is not that many children have not been asked not to go down the street but rather the manner in which they were told. The language used in this segment was in dialect and, though not spoken by all blacks, many blacks are certainly familiar with its use. This is because many blacks, particularly those experiencing racial isolation, live in de facto segregated communities where their own language is heard and perpetuated.

The Luther cartoon strips, though included for all races, seem specifically designed for blacks since they are indeed satires of black situations. Humor about oneself and one's own situations has indeed been a way of coping with the problems encountered by blacks.

Many adult blacks found the Willie Tyler segment and the Luther cartoon strip offensive. They found it difficult being reminded of their past, particularly if the past represented unpleasant or unjust racial situations. The children both understood and were able to laugh at the Willie Tyler

segment as well as the Luther comic pieces.

On the whole, the black children responded well to all of the shows,but particularly well to segments where blacks were included.

The Superlative Horse

The Superlative Horse is a serialized folk tale which was presented separately to a group of nine and ten year old children at the Bank Street School, for the purpose of obtaining reactions to the shows. The Bank Street School is an independent school operated by the Bank Street College of Education in New York City.

Adult: "How did you like the show?"

White Child: "I liked the show because it has a story to to it and it's not like boring and things like that. I like shows like that and I like to watch them on video tape too, and it makes me feel good, because when our class gets chosen to see video tapes, our class doesn't usually get it, but this time it was really fun, because everybody really liked it. Some kids said it was really great. I thought it was great too."

Adult: "Let me ask you, what did you like best about it?"

White Child: I liked the way the king was dressed and I liked the horses there." "What I liked best in the movie was when the man found the horse that he liked best and it was a very pretty horse."

Eurasian Child: "I liked the video tape program, because it has a story to it and was Oriental and usually I like

those things because I am a little bit Oriental too. I liked also when he saw the horse that he liked and it was really funny when the prime minister, I think it was, was riding on this little pony all over the place and he couldn't catch up. I thought that when the narrator said that he found this white stallion, he was going to bring back to the Emperor, but then, when he found out how much it was I guess he couldn't afford it, so he went over to the other one and said, 'This is the horse,' and the Prime Minister was so happy to get away from all those horses and all that. I really liked it, I think it had a lot of life in it, it wasn't dull, it was very lively and I think it is the kind of thing children would like."

White Child: "I think that the white stallion that he found was very pretty, and I think he should have got the white stallion, because when he got that other horse which wasn't as pretty as the white stallion, he asked the same price."

White Child: "Also the man he was going with was getting frustrated, because it was cold and he was used to being in the palace back home."

Adult: "May I ask you a question; any of you may answer now. What do you think The Superlative Horse means, the title, the title, The Superlative Horse, what do you think that means?"

White Child: "It means that when they got the horse back, the white horse, the king thought it was very very pretty."

White Child: "He got accepted into the thing. Well, at least that's what I guess, and I think that's probably what is going to happen. Even though it's uglier than the white stallion, they still accepted it, and it probably will even turn out to be better than the stallion. That's what my guess is."

Adult: "What's your reason for thinking that it was uglier than the white stallion, what is it about him that made him uglier than the white stallion?"

White Child: "The white stallion was so clean and shiny and the light color was so really very pretty, and it's white and everything."

Adult: "The one that was chosen?"

White Child: "The one that was chosen was brown and I guess the man didn't take very much care of it as the white stallion, because he probably knew that most people would buy the white stallion instead of the brown one, so he decided that at least if that brown one was going to be ugly, that he might as well go all the way being ugly. And also, I think the wise man, chief groom, kept popping up everywhere like when they were riding in the forest, and then they went on and on and everybody started laughing when we saw that part.

Public School Showing

The television special "Superlative Horse" was also shown to a group of black children nine and ten years of age in a New York Public School. The following is a report of a discussion based on the special showing.

Adult: "Let's get started. I am going to ask you some questions to see what you have learned or discovered as you watched the show. The first question I would like to ask is, why was the story called the Superlative Horse?"

Clivie: "Because it was about a special horse."

Adult: "A special horse; what was so special about him?"

Clivie: "Because the horse had lots of beauty and fastness in its running."

Adult: "Anything else?"

Clivie: "And its color."

Rowan: "I think it was called The Superlative Horse because they didn't judge him by the way he looked, his ragged and everything, and he could run fast. That's why I think they called it The Superlative Horse."

Adult: "The next question that I'd like to ask is, what did you like about the show?"

Brenda: "I liked the part when 'Han Kan' had chosen the horse, and that big fat man was surprised and started riding on that little donkey that he thought was going so fast, but it wasn't going no place."

Adult: "O. K. Anybody else?"

Child: "I liked at the end when the horses were running. The white and black horse were in a tie and at the finish line the black horse won.

Adult: "That's interesting! Anybody else have any thoughts about that?"

Michelle: "I liked the race when the horses' feet were going so fast."

Joseph: "I liked the part when the man started hollering because he came back with the wrong horse he didn't like."

Michael: "I liked when 'Han Kan' kept on fixing country food in the middle of the forest."

Adult: "Now that we've heard what you liked about the show, what didn't you like about it?"

Phillip: "I didn't like when that guy, that black guy, was sitting up in the chair talking all through the thing about the horse and how good he was and all of that.

Adult: "Why didn't you like that part?"

Charles: "Because he would feel let down so he was bragging too much and he shouldn't do all the talking."

Marie: "I didn't like 'Han-Kan.'

Adult: "Why didn't you?"

Marie: "Because he had on that funny hat."

Marie: "I didn't like the black man because he was showing off all the time."

Adult: "Who do you think The Superlative Horse was going to beat and why?"

Phillip: "Because 'Han-Kan' chose the white horse and he had to race against that black one."

Adult: "That doesn't answer the question."

Phillip: "I thought he was going to beat the white horse, because it was the king's horse."

Thomas: "I thought it was going to beat the white horse, that the man he had to sell him, because it looked so good. It wasn't going to pick the other in the corner, because they look so ugly."

Adult: "What did you learn from the show?"

Cleveland: "It really is about don't judge anything by its color or its looks."

Adult: "That's right. Tracey, what do you think about that? What did you learn from seeing the show?"

Tracey: "I learned that you should not always pick the best horse because the best horse can't always win."

Adult: "Well if it's the best, best in what way then, you mean looks?"

Tracey: "The better looks."

Adult: "Lloyd, suppose you give us your idea about this?"

Teacher: "Would anyone else like to say something?"

Child: "I think when you learn something don't be choosing your friends because they have a lot of money and fancy clothes and all that, and their shoes cost a lot of money. Don't choose them like that because of how friendly they are, because sometimes big shot people go get their old friends and take all your money."

The responses from both groups indicate their ability to comprehend and interpret the programs viewed. In the process of analysis many personal feelings were displayed, providing some indication of existing attitudes.

Situations such as these are indicative of the effectiveness of Vegetable Soup. Many of the anticipated educational gains have been achieved and with continued viewing, one can expect additional gains.

Puerto Rican Sample

Setting

The Puerto Rican sample was drawn from an area in New York City heavily populated with Puerto Rican families.

P. S. 46, a new building, is an elementary school in the New York City school system, located in the downtown section in Brooklyn.

A research assistant was secured to work with the research team in P. S. 46. She was a parent with three children in the school and knew most of the Puerto Rican population on a first-name basis.

The room to which we were assigned to do the research was the media room located on the third floor. The equipment was stored, however, on the second floor and had to be moved to the media room each day the children were scheduled to view the television show. The media room was equipped with listening carrels, tables and chairs, casually placed around the room. It was an ideal setting for television viewing.

The children had been randomly selected and were divided in age groups for viewing purposes.

The shows were viewed on Tuesday and Thursday of each week. The six through eight year old group made up the group for the first viewing which began at 12:30 on designated days.

Generally the younger children sat on the floor while the older ones preferred to be seated in chairs.

Many of the children remarked spontaneously to segments of the programs while viewing. Unfortunately these were not always recorded by the researcher.

Following are some of the verbal responses to Show 1 and Show 2 by the Puerto Rican children.

Children's Responses and Comments

Show 1

Younger children:

To minority segment questions: "Have you ever felt all alone?" one (P.R.) answered, "Yes."

Show 2

Older Children:

In response to Martin's question about who took his snake, "That girl got the snake--that girl stole the snake!"

About Cordero: "He's Spanish," said one child.

"How do you know?" I asked. "Hear his name?"

About the Afro American child in the "color" segment, "Tee hee, she's black!"

These brief comments provide some insight into what some of the children really respond to and how they respond.

Puerto Rican children were greatly impressed by seeing themselves on screen and frequently asked if there were going to be any Puerto Ricans on the program. The attention span of the Puerto Rican youngsters was good with even the first grade children having little difficulty sitting through complete shows. Indeed all of the youngsters responded well by sitting quietly and viewing the shows, and at times verbalizing comments spontaneously.

The Asian Sample

Setting

The Asian sample was drawn from elementary school P. S. 23, in Chinatown, New York City. The population of the school is composed almost entirely of Chinese children, a large majority of whom are recent immigrants and who experience some difficulty with understanding and speaking English.

The climate of the school is excellent in that there is a spirit of commitment and cooperation among the teachers, parents, and the principal towards the children. There is a strong community spirit and much active concern with improving the neighborhood. In fact it is interesting to note that this once quiet, careful and conservative community has become more aggressive and outspoken in demanding that officials of the city hear and correct grievances delineated by the residents. Since the Chinese community has commonly been assumed to be passive, this recent assertive behavior adds a new dimension towards changing a "commonly held" perception of a people.

The children who viewed the films were well behaved, quiet, and obedient. They sat in movable chairs and were able to move about, yet none did so. They were extremely self-controlled and contained. They reacted to various segments of the films in whispers and quiet comments. They

verbalized general enthusiasm and eagerness to see all the films when asked, but at the actual viewing remained quietly responsive. The children in the school at large revealed similar characteristics in their classrooms. The adult in the school setting is seen as an authority figure and as such is highly respected. Any evidence of misbehavior is rare. One can only speculate whether the children would respond in similar fashion if they were viewing the films in their homes.

Children's Responses and Comments

The children for the most part expressed eagerness for the next viewing at the conclusion of each show. There was a marked difference in the reactions of the two groups as they watched the films. Certain segments provoked and sustained high interest for both groups, e. g. Outerscope I, Martin and his Snake, Alex the Chinese boy, and were verbally well received. The younger children grew restless when there was an absence of music, animation, or movement. However, they responded to a "talky" segment when they recognized the narrator as Asian (e. g., the Chinese City Planner).

The older children responded with quiet humming to the opening refrains of each show. They answered questions posed by the narrator, read titles, anticipated events, and were generally responsive to the instructional segments.

They seemed to perceive these segments as learning times and reacted with hand raising and a desire to answer the questions and to do what was required of them.

Following are some verbatim comments and some general responses made by the children as they viewed the specific shows described by groups.

Show 1

Younger children:

Tapped to opening theme.

Asked about name Vegetable Soup.

Lost interest in segment of derivation of the drum.

Older children:

Outerscope: Discussed the building of the spaceship.

Drum: Responded by drumming.

Words: Repeated words, supplied words to pictures.

Recipe: Laughed at animation in segment.

Show 2

Younger children:

Ventriloquist: Laughed at black ventriloquist when singing.

City Planner: Rapt attention at Chinese city planner.

Martin: "Is it over already?" (when Martin segment ended).

Older children:

Counting, "--2, 1, oh!" at blast off in Outerscope segment.

"Oh" when segment ended.

Laughed at songs ventriloquist sang.

Chinese City Planner: high interest.

Martin segment:

"She stole it."

"That's his snake!"

Recipe: very interested.

Show 3

Younger children:

Outerscope:

"They're really going up!"

Lots of laughter when puppet child was falling out of the ship--"Pull!"

"Ooh look! It's the sun, it's the sun!"

Jockey Narrator: Lost interest. "What time is it?"

Craft: High interest level.

Repeated "Pinata."

"It was his birthday."

Recipe: "We saw that already." Interest still very high.

Skin Color: Participated in answering questions-- "No!"

Older children:

Outerscope:

"They're in space!"

"Oh!" "Yeast!" "Lost in space."

"It's the sun."

"Oh, so fast!"

Jockey sequence: Hummed along with call to post.

Crafts: Laughed at end when pinata was hit.

Recipe: "This is the end. Oh, that again."

Skin Color: "No"-- "yes" to question, "Are we different colors?"

Laughed at girl with large sun glasses.

"I did that this summer." (refers to sliding)

Show 4

Younger children

Outerscope: "What's that?"

Martin:

"Oh snakes again!"

"I like snakes."

"I get scared that they bite, too."

"He bit it."

Recipe

"Yeah, we saw that."

"Finished."

Older children:

Outerscope:

"It's a bar of soap."

"Sponges, mops, lollipops, knives, razor blades, oh!"

Pat Suzuki:

"I know what she's saying."

Martin: "Ah!"

Recipe: "What is it, candy?"

Show 5

Both groups viewed this show together because of difficulty in scheduling this day.

Outerscope: High interest, no comment

Iron Worker: Younger children inattentive, affecting attention span of older children.

Words Have Meaning: Children repeat all words, "Skunk," "Chipmunk."

Recipe: "It's the same thing. The things to eat."

Show 6

Younger Children:

Harpsichordist: Children clapped when children on film clapped "Banjo."

Martin:

"Oh, Nigel, the snake!"

"Yes, I'm sure it's Nigel."

"See, I told you!"

"See, the snake is inside the bag."

"You have to know how to blow up a tent."

Recipe: "Candy. We saw that."

Older children:

Outerscope:

"Oh, so soon!"

"What? Betty surprises them all."

Harpsichordist:

Child plays desk. Clapped hands when children clapped on screen

"Guitar."

Crafts

"Papier Mache."

"Oh." (appreciative)

"Kazoo." "It's easy."

Martin: "Oh! It's Nigel. He's inside."

Recipe: Children repeat

"Wax paper."

"Then pour it in."

"Then chill in refrigerator."

"Cut it up in pieces."

"Ooh! Disgusting!"

Show 10

Younger children: Very few responses.

Older children:

Lion Dance: "They do it good."

Show 11

Younger children:

Sang along with segments.

Got up before end of last segment.

Older children:

Requested that Martin and Nigel return. Children asked if Japanese sequence is replacing Martin series.

Show 12

Younger children:

Outerscope: "I want to see it."

Judo: "Judo lessons!"

Make a New Friend: Singing along.

Real People: Alex the Chinese boy is cooking.

"Bok Choy."

"He can't even use chop sticks!"

Laughter when Carlos tried to repeat Chinese words.

Recipe: "I see two eyes. We saw this."

Older children:

What Do You Want to Be When You Grow Up: "Kung Fu."

Dance Sequence--John Henry: "He's naked!"

Make a New Friend: Repeat, "San Juan P. R."

Chinese Restaurant Sequence:

"That's what I had for dinner!"

Children repeat Carlos learning Chinese words.

Recipe:

"Oh, it's ending."

"He'll eat the plate."

Show 13

Younger children:

Real People: Children laughing, predicting plot.

Older children: No particular responses.

Show 14

In this show, there is a segment on art drawn by Chinese children filmed in P. S. 23. The children in both groups recognized some of the youngsters in the film and were excited and pleased.

Children in both groups read the Chinese words and generally referred to the children on screen by name.

Show 15

Both groups of children sang along with logo and themes of various segments.

Native American and Chicano Sample

The investigator who conducted the research in New Mexico is herself a resident of that region. Her sensitivity to the life style and culture of the people of the southwest is evident in her description about them.

The unique conditions under which the research was done made it more practical to include this report in its intact form.

A. Introduction

The educational television program, Vegetable Soup, is aimed at modifying children's ethnic attitudes and extending their knowledge of the life styles of children drawn from cultures other than their own. They were pretested in New Mexico over a period of six months; and the purpose of this portion of the total evaluative efforts has been to work with Native American and Chicano children. Many of the programs were quite successful in engaging children's interest and in furnishing interested teachers with useful materials by means of which to discuss issues of prejudice, differing cultural traditions, arts and crafts, etc. Some of the observations based on pretesting were summarized in our short report of December 28, 1974. Both during the formative

and summative evaluations, Outerscope was found to be the most popular and effective program.

Taking this into consideration, the development of a program that deals with the issues in children's terms, including scenes of adventure may be a preliminary and important stage for the younger age group, while accurate materials representing the cultural pluralism of the country may be of singular importance for older (pre-adolescent) groups.

As seen in the narrative report below, the particular conditions of family life on the one hand and classroom experiences on the other seem to affect even young children's attitudes toward members of ethnic groups different from their own (see discussion of Cassandra in Gallup). It is hard to gain information concerning these complex factors during a short-term testing program; the summative evaluation has focused upon the impact of Vegetable Soup upon children's change in attitudes. It seems to me that the program opens the door for a franker and fuller discussion of the children's existing realities and thus its effects may not be measurable on a short-term basis.

The two major sites for the summative evaluation were the Alvord School in Santa Fe and the Gallup Indian Community Center in Gallup. Our evaluative efforts were hampered by the substantially earlier closing of schools out here than in New

York. Nevertheless, we hope to have been able to furnish some useful information to the national evaluation effort.

B. Alvord--Testing of Chicano Children

The testing of Chicano children, both experimental and control, was performed in Alvord Elementary School, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Alvord is located in a Chicano barrio. The population of the school is predominately Chicano--between 90-95%. This percentage includes children of mixed marriages; Spanish-American (Chicano) with Anglo, Black, or Native American. There are two or three black children in the school. The remaining 5-10% are Anglo. The school houses grades one through six with an enrollment of approximately 350 children.

Alvord benefits from several government programs. Many of the children speak English as a second language. Because of exposure to television and similarities between Spanish and English, they have less trouble adapting to an English-speaking environment than do the Navajo children. Both follow through and bilingual programs have been established in grades one through three. For these grades there was also a regular classroom. The classes averaged 20-25 students, comparatively small. The older children--grades four through six--participated in an open classroom. A surprisingly quiet and well behaved group, they were grouped according to their abilities in each subject.

The principal of the school was extremely helpful. He even went so far as to make his office available for testing. The office was accessible to all the children, most of whom were on a first-name basis with the secretary and came to her for help. The teachers were also quite helpful and made no protests about the testing. The general atmosphere of the school was pleasant and relaxed.

All the children tested were cooperative and easy to work with. Many offered information on either the programs or the photographs. Only a very few seemed put off by the testing. To the majority it was an honor to be chosen and a game to be discussed with friends. They were apparently undisturbed by being sent to the principal's office or the nurse's office to be tested.

The testing itself took close to a week. The last two days of school were devoted to outdoor activities--sack races, softball throws, and relays. Aside from causing restlessness and a tremendous flow of energy, this had no effect on the testing. The children didn't seem to be in a hurry to return to their games--with a few exceptions, the testers tried to schedule the children so as not to interfere with the activities they participated in.

One of the testers was an Anglo, Timi Annon, and the other a Chicana, Marcia Fernandez. Although many students

were drawn from the bilingual program, only two who spoke no English were tested in Spanish. One child, when asked by the Anglo tester if he preferred to speak Spanish or English, was too surprised to answer. He finally managed to whisper, "English." This same child, after examining the photographs of the adults asked, "Don't you have any pictures of white people?" This is a reference to the lack of blond-haired, blue-eyed individuals in the photographs. Many of the children voluntered information about photographs or "identified" aunts and uncles; only children were asked to identify cousins.

The control children were chosen from the first to fourth grades, attempting to match as closely as possible this experimental group.

Before the programs had been shown, the principal had stated that the children were not prejudiced. Surprisingly enough, according to observations made during testing and from glancing over the results, this appears to be true. Aside from slight socioeconomic prejudices and a tendency to prefer the company of their own sex, the children were not limiting their choices to members of their own ethnic group. They responded equally openly and in a friendly manner in the "Stranger Test," no matter what the color of the new child.

All responses to the program from both teachers and students were favorable. The teachers enjoyed the treat and

expressed a desire to see it on national television. They did not, however, feel it was necessary in changing attitudes as they felt good about the children's outlook. The children mentioned the Outerscope portion most often, with great enthusiasm and were fascinated though frightened by Nigel, the boa.

At the end of the testing, a party was given to all the children who had participated, with folk singing and treats. The party was a great success, as was the entire experience at Alvord School.

C. Gallup--Testing of Navajo Children

Testing in Gallup was not as extensive as it could have been because it didn't start until school was over and the older children were not available. Also, unfortunately, the testing situation had been set up extremely formally by personnel at the Gallup Indian Community Center. The children had all been told they were going to be tested. They were sent to wash their hands and brush their hair before coming to the test. A desk in the front office had been provided for the use of the tester. Most of the children were very nervous and refused to sit at a large table or on the floor.

The Center had a rather chaotic, easy-going atmosphere with numerous people coming and going, making use of the various facilities. (It apparently serves as a health care center and clearing-house, among other things.) The children were in the back of the building behind the kitchen in a play area converted to a crib room, bathroom, and dining room. The personnel were very relaxed and easy-going. They broke up fights, soothed anger, and dried tears, but otherwise let the children play outdoors or in the dining area. The program is a Day Care Center, not a preschool or kindergarten.

The director of the Day Care Center is black and her three assistants are Navajo. At least two of the assistants have children at the Center, as does the director, whose daughter will be discussed later.

The Neighborhood Center from where the control group was taken was much more rigidly organized. It is isolated in a portion of a new government building full of fluorescent lights, plastic furniture, and yellow cabinets. There is a small play house on one wall which has a second glassed story. The testing took place in the playhouse; it was very low, no adult could stand upright, it was furnished with a child's table and chairs. The children were very curious about the testing and had to be chased away. The approach

to the testing itself was less formal than at the Community Center but the general atmosphere was much more tense. Several children were punished for various activities during the time of the testing. They were made to sit still and be quiet for half an hour. Similar punishment was not observed at the Community Center. This could have been because the testing did not take place within the Day Care Center area. Or, more likely, it may have been an illustration of the Navajo tendency to spoil young children and punish them only briefly and mildly, if at all.

The Neighborhood Center was run by an Anglo with one Chicano, one Indian and two Anglo assistants. While the Community Center had consisted almost exclusively of Native Americans--there was a single black child, and one child of mixed origin--the Neighborhood had a more varied population, being approximately one-quarter Anglo, one-quarter Native American, and half Chicano. During the short time the tester was present, there were no obvious racial tensions. This group of children was not as varied in age, ranging from two years old to a single six year old; the majority of the children were between four and five. The children at the Neighborhood Center participated in many organized activities and were not allowed to initiate activities themselves. The only strong

hostile response from all the tests given in both Santa Fe and Gallup came from a bright four year old Chicano boy at the Neighborhood Center.

Although the Community Center Day Care program was much less organized, spent much less time telling the children what they could and could not do, had no apparent organized activities aside from eating and napping, it seemed more child-oriented, whereas the Neighborhood Center seemed more adult-oriented. Full of organized activities and rules and punishments, it didn't seem to allow the children to be themselves.

The director of the Community Center was quite enthusiastic about the program. She mentioned several times that she hoped it would be nationally broadcast. She also spoke of a possibility of filming a section of Navajo children on the reservation for the program. Several of the employees at the Center had children who had watched the program and expressed enthusiasm. There was little response from the children as to the program--except a general agreement that they had enjoyed it very much, especially Outerscope. Nearly half of the children spoken to asked if they would be able to watch more of the program. The other half mostly refused to speak about anything, probably because of shyness.

The director expressed the opinion that children actually have very few prejudices and she had seldom observed any

of the children calling out insults. Children seem to observe color, hair, and feature differences but make no value judgments according to what they saw. For the children of her center, the Director felt the program was unnecessary in that they were not racially prejudiced, but its value seemed to lie in exposing the children to other life styles and enabling them to overcome economic prejudices and misconceptions about other people and life styles and the desirability of an economically well-to-do life style.

The most popular portion of the program seemed to be Outerscope, in Gallup as well as in Santa Fe. Apparently episodes involving other children did not interest the children of the center. The children of the center also enjoyed the recipes.

As mentioned before, no older children were available to be tested in Gallup. School had let out. There was no response to the letters or the phone calls to the parents of the six to ten year olds which attempted to explain the circumstances and asked the children to be present. Thus, the experimental group which was tested ranged from four to six years in age. This appears to be one of the main reasons for a scarcity of response.

In the experimental group at least 90% of the children spoke English as a second language. The examiner had no

knowledge of Navajo which presented a difficulty in communications as it never was clear with the unresponsive children if they had even understood the question. Many of the children appeared to translate the question into Navajo, formulate their answer, and translate it into English. Speaking it as a second language, many children had very specific interpretations of words or phrases such as "friends" or "looks like." Many of the younger children,when asked to choose friends, looked for pictures of their acquaintances. When asked to seek pictures which were similar in some way to themselves, their parents, or their siblings, they searched for portraits of these specific individuals instead of similarities in skin and hair coloring, facial structure, and size and shape of eyes.

The Navajo children at the Community Center were obviously much more experienced in reservation life styles even though many of them dwell in the community of Gallup, than in the world of television programs and psychological testing. Gallup preserves many of the Navajo traditions such as extended family situations in which children are raised by their grandparents, aunts, and uncles, or other clan mambers. Many of the fathers and often the mothers either work or study elsewhere in the reservation, or in the surrounding area.

Several specific children should be discussed in regard to views on racial prejudices. As mentioned before, the director of the Community Center program's daughter was a minority of a single black child in a group which averaged 25 children. She appeared very aware of racial differences. She recognized the Afro hair styles as a black characteristic and commented on arguments between her mother, the Director of the Center, and her brother in regard to his Afro. She had no apparent knowledge of Navajo and apparently communicates with all of her classmates in English. Being the director's daughter, she is awarded specific privileges but did not seem to connect these with skin color. She seemed to have had more exposure to television and testing.

In her response she chose all the children to be her friends and then again all to be her best friends. This may have been because she is an outgoing, cheerful child, not in the least shy or reserved, and also she is aware of racial differences and, because of this awareness, is easily able to perceive the aims of the testing. In brief, unspecific observations of her interactions with other children, there was absolutely no problem with her obviously different racial identity.

Although her presence may account for a lack of prejudice towards Negroes in the experimental group, at least two

of her classmates pointed to B-1 or B-3 and said, "She looks like Cassandra," and proceeded to choose the photo as a friend.

Totally opposite to Cassandra was Lisa. Lisa was half Navajo and half Anglo, her father being Anglo, her mother Navajo. She seemed extremely confused as to her racial identity. She was unsure as to the identity of her parents, perhaps because of living in an extended Navajo family. We were unable to gain specific information about her home situation. She was very aware of racial differences and seemed somehow to feel it was a subject that was not discussed. Her choice of friends revealed an unvoiced prejudice against blacks. She immediately rejected all the black pictures as well as the older Puerto Rican boy--who has curly dark hair. As a "red-tone" ("Half-breed"), she herself may be the brunt of much teasing and insult and respond with prejudice towards others. She was less shy and more verbally responsive to strangers than most of the Navajo children.

The responses from the Navajo children were extremely sparse for several reasons. The most obvious of these was the youth of the children. The effort to keep their attention while recording as much data as possible was difficult. The children were often suspicious as to what was being written and didn't seem to want to have their comments recorded.

Another important reason is an Indian custom of telling the white man whatever he wants to hear. Many of the children watched the examiner's face while they were being shown the pictures. They waited for positive reinforcement from the examiner. An effort was made to respond enthusiastically and positively, no matter what the child said. This may have backfired if the child said yes three times in a row, but it did seem to get more responses from the children than a blank face and no reinforcement at all. The children seemed to relax and be less nervous. Some of the children developed patterns of responses to the friend pictures. The most popular of these were yes-no and yes-yes-no. The responses were usually nods and shakes of the head with little verbal responses. Confusion sometimes resulted when children were asked to repeat the process of choosing friends, especially when the initial response had been either all or none. They felt they had responded correctly and were being asked to try again although the question was phrased differently.

Another problem which can partially be explained by the youth of the children is the tendency when asked to find pictures which resembled themselves or their families, they attempted to find pictures which <u>were</u> their parents or their siblings. A contributing factor in this difficulty may be a very strong Navajo suspicion of ghosts. Photographs have

produced nervousness and negative responses because they may have some power over a person's soul.

Several times they were asked about specific characteristics such as hair, eyes, smile, clothes in an effort to explain the concept of similarities but it wasn't of much help. When the children did choose pictures, they almost unanimously refused to explain their choices.

The identification of a picture similar to themselves was the most difficult task for these children. Identification of siblings drew the best responses from the Navajo children. This, again, is due partially to age and partially to the clan system and extended family structure. There is less emphasis placed on biological relationships in Navajo families than is placed on clan relationships. There are usually quite a few cousins, nephews, nieces, brothers, and sisters of approximately the same age in the child's home environment. Children of the same age are easier for children to see which facilitates remembering their facial features. This test drew better responses than the friendship test because one does not "choose" friends in a Navajo society. There are members of one's clan who are family and who spend much time together. Later friendships will develop slowly at older stages. Young children usually are surrounded by enough other young children so that they have no need to

seek out friends.

The test which drew the least response was the "Stranger Test." This, again, is because of cultural differences. In most Indian cultures, including the Navajo, one does not walk up to a stranger and ask questions or offer explanations. One waits to see what the stranger does in order to discover if he is hostile or not.

The age factor would also appear to be influential in the responses to this question. It was very difficult to get the children to place themselves in a specific and imagined situation. They quickly forgot what they were supposed to do.

There did not seem to be any drastic differences in the experimental and control groups aside from the actual physical testing environments. This may disguise differences although that is unlikely. The greater tension of the environment in the Neighborhood Center did not seem to affect the responses to the pictures nor did greater variety and equality of ethnic groups. This observation may be disproved by a careful evaluation of the responses.

In all instructional situations, the teacher anticipates the educational gains to be made by the children. Instructional television is really no different, and the educational television curriculum was designed to provide certain educational gains. Responses of the children while viewing the

programs are extremely valuable in terms of exhibition of overt behaviors. The comments you have just read, being spontaneous and recorded verbatim, represent true feelings of the viewers and came quite close to their attitudes and values. With the exception of "Superhorse," none of the information recorded was elicited from the youngsters.

The table which follows is an indication of some of the expected educational gains which were achieved by each of the six ethnic groups.

This concludes the presentation of the statistical and anecdotal data collected for the total study. The next Chapter V will present a summary of the findings and conclusions. Based upon the findings of the research recommendation will be offered that may benefit the development of future television shows.

TABLE 22

Educational Gains of White, Black, Asian, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American Children

Ethnicities	White	Black	Asian	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native Amer.	Stated Gains
Age							
Younger	X	X	X	X	X	X	The child will identify positively with his own racial group (Black, Chicanos, Native American, Asian-American, or other minority group).
Older	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Younger	X	X					The child will identify qualities and characteristics he has in common with all other human beings.
Older	X	X					
Younger	X	X	X		X		The child will have self-pride in similarities with others and his own uniqueness.
Older	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Younger							Child identifies and interprets problems of difference from many points of view.
Older	X	X			X		
Younger	X	X			X		Faced with the imposition of behavior prescribed by a difference (physical, intellectual, racial) the child makes judgment on equitableness.
Older	X	X			X		

TABLE 22 continued

Ethnicities	White	Black	Asian	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native Amer.	Stated Gains
Age							
Younger		X			X		In a conflict situation with strong interpersonal feelings the child describes behavior and emotion differentiating between the origins that are based on equity.
Older	X						
Younger							In a situation involving minorities or different groups of people - the children will assess the feelings, background and problems as they realistically exist and cooperatively solve them.
Older	X	X			X		
Younger	x	x		x	x		The child will accept and determine a variety of roles and views for all persons on an individual personality rather than a group stereotype basis. Ex. The child will not segregate himself or his peers along racial lines and will actively be involved in group play that has a role interchange.
Older		x		x	x		

TABLE 22 continued

Ethnicities	White	Black	Asian	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native Amer.	Stated Gains
Age							The child will be an active participant in eliminating scapegoating and and the isolation of minorities. Ex. The child will not use racial epithets and will actively discourage his peers from using them as well.
Younger							
Older	X	X	X	X	X	X	
							The child will develop an analytic basis for relationships with minority groups and individuals. Ex. The child will not fear or resort to violence with minority persons.
Younger							
Older	X	X	X	X	X	X	
							The child will have a realistic understanding of contributions to the development of all culture by minority groups. The child will respect these contributions and feel pride in their development. Ex. The child will provide positive factual in describing minority cultures.
Younger	X	X	X		X	X	
Older	X	X	X	X	X	X	

TABLE 22 continued

Ethnicities	White	Black	Asian	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native Amer.	Stated Gains
Age							
Younger	X	X			X		The child will begin to understand that prejudgment sometimes causes uncalled for or inappropriate behavior. The child will realize or understand that there are positive ways of solving problems. Ex. The child will be able to discuss his feelings openly with children to whom he has biased feelings, or the child will be able to help create a positive situation by becoming involved in a happy experience.
Older	X	X	X		X		

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research project was designed to test whether there is an effect on attitude formation and/or change in groups of children who have viewed a series of 16 shows which speak to the issue of multiethnicity compared to groups of children who have not viewed the shows.

The study, structured to answer a series of questions, made clear the need for the creation of a set of instruments particularly tailored for the research. These instruments are described in detail in Chapter III.

The research questions were the following:

1. Did the child who saw the programs show evidence of fostering more positive identification with his own ethnic group?

2. Did the child who saw the programs develop greater feelings of acceptance for others new to his group?

3. Did the child who saw the shows feel more friendly or affiliative generally toward others? Did he disperse his feelings of friendship more widely in that he was willing to entertain the idea of friendship more with many ethnic groups and less with only his own reference group? Did he tend to cross sex lines in his preferences? Was he

willing to entertain the idea of friendship with both older and younger people?

4. Did the child who saw the shows have less of a tendency to stereotype what people could do occupationally on the basis of sex and race?

The data garnered by the instruments are presented and analyzed in Chapter IV. In this chapter these findings will be summarized and a full discussion will be presented which will utilize the information gathered by the researchers on their own responses and comments and on those of the children who viewed the shows. Following the discussion, specific recommendations will be offered by the researchers with reference to content and presentations of future television productions for children.

The conclusions derived from the statistical analysis of the data obtained through the four test instruments will be presented first. Following the interpretation of these results will be a discussion of reactions to major segments of the shows and recommendations.

Conclusions from the Statistical Analysis

Did 16 Vegetable Soup shows succeed in affecting the intergroup attitudes of a group of six to nine year old children who viewed them? The answer to this question is,

"yes." When the posttest scores of the attitudinal measures that were applied were compared for the experimental and control groups a significant positive difference was found favoring the experimental group.

But this finding must be qualified, since this finding does not apply consistently over all of the racial/ethnic groups that were the foci of this study. These qualifications will be presented in the order of the four basic research questions enumerated above.

Awareness of Racial Identity and Development of Positive Identification with one's own Ethnic Group

The majority of the children in the study were aware of their racial identity. There was a slight, but statistically significant difference in this awareness in favor of the 200 children in the experimental group (viewers). There were highly significant differences between races in frequencies of awareness and fostering positive identification of one's ethnic group. When verbal responses were analyzed, there was a very strong sense of self and indications of positive ethnic identification of all groups tested.

There were no significant differences in ethnic identification between experimental and control groups when analyzed by sex.

Inherent in the notion of developing positive identification with one's own ethnic group is awareness of racial identity. This question touches directly on objective 2 for the Vegetable Soup series and is seen as an important variable in the design of the research as well. It was plausible to reason that the awareness of racial identity would be a bench mark for most of the issues of stereotyping around which Vegetable Soup is organized. If a child lacks a clear awareness of his own identity; if he cannot, or does not differentiate himself from others by race, ethnicity, or indeed by sex; then assessment of the child's stereotyping behavior would be moot.

Previous research, as cited in Chapter II, had indicated that children generally have developed a clear sense of racial, ethnic, and sexual identity by the age of six. The results of the present study confirmed earlier findings. The slight difference in racial awareness scores favoring the experimental group was too small to be attributed to experimental effect. The results did provide a more firm footing for the interpretation of other findings in the study.

Feelings of Acceptance for Outsiders

When the experimental and control group children were compared as a whole, there were no differences in their responses to test items measuring the degree of their feelings

of acceptance toward others who are "outsiders" to their group. There were no differences in response whether the "outsiders" were of the same race as the respondent and his reference group, or of a different race.

When the data were analyzed by race, the white experimental group children were found to have mean scores significantly higher than the control group on the feelings of acceptance for outsiders measure. For the other four racial groups, the experimental group children had lower scores than the controls, but this difference was slight and not statistically significant.

The fact that the white population exhibited higher mean scores on feelings of acceptance for outsiders is indeed a positive move toward reduction of predjudical attitudes. Of even greater importance, is the fact that the experimental group displayed measurable differences in their responses from the control group. It seems quite evident the 16 shows seen by the experimental group very definitely had an effect on these youngsters.

The whites were more accepting of Chicano children than of any other ethnic group. Acceptance would have been based on many factors:

(1) Seeing Chicanos in very positive roles on Vegetable Soup

(2) Few preconceived negative attitudes about the group

(3) Change in attitude about members of the Chicano group.

Level of Friendliness

There were significant differences between the experimental (viewers) and control group (non-viewers) children in the level of friendliness exhibited by their sociometric choices. The difference was in favor of the experimental group and was large enough to be significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Greater differences were found between the friendship level scores for the experimental and control groups when analyzed by race. These differences were significant at well beyond the .01 level. The average friendliness scores were higher for the experimental groups for all five of the racial/ethnic groups in the study. They were the highest for the black children and the lowest for the Asians. It was the difference between the black and the Asian groups that contributed the major source of variance in the analysis.

The findings stated above re addressed to the issue of how friendly the children who were subjects in this study felt toward the children in the six ethnic groups represented by the photographs. This is sometimes referred to as "valence" in sociometry.

The second issue of interest was the degree of friendliness directed by these five ethnic groups toward the six groups depicted in the pictures. Put in lay terms, this issue asks how "popular" were the children in the six ethnic groups?

The mean differences in 'friendship' score received by all six total ethnic groups were highly significant. They were higher for those received from the experimental group; they differed significantly by race and by sex. All of these differences were significant at the .01 level level of confidence.

When these differences were examined individually by race, however, it was found that the greatest mean differences between experimental and control group occurred with the white children's pictures. The smallest difference which occurred with the black children's pictures was not significant. All six means were higher for the experimental group measures.

The evidence from this part of the study shows rather clearly that the experiment was successful and achieved its objectives. Seeing 16 Vegetable Soup shows resulted in higher friendliness scores from the experimental than from the control goup children.

Occupational Stereotyping

When the responses of the experimental and control group children were analyzed as total groups and by sex and race, no patterns were revealed in the groupings of pictures of children either by race or sex in terms of what the respondents thought they would do occupationally when they grew up. The responses were virtually random.

This could be attributed to failure of the instrument used, but it seems more likely that eight through ten year old children have comparatively little awareness of sexual or racial influences on what people could expect to do occupationally. Verbal responses however, indicated some interest in occupations based on familiarity, preference or aspiration of many of the children watching the program.

Discussion

From the very beginning of this evaluation study it was evident that all of the eight objectives set forth for Vegetable Soup, as stated in Chapter I, could not be tested in a direct way. The reasons for this were many but a few of the most compelling were the following:

It would not have been feasible to design satisfactory instruments to obtain direct measures for most of the objectives in the period of time available. It appears simple

at first glance, for example, to measure changed behavior in objective 4: "To teach children to reject the use of epithets and name-calling as strategies for dealing with conflict situations." To ask children directly whether it is right or wrong to apply derogatory names or racial epithets to others would not be likely to test this issue with much relevance since children know what the socially acceptable answers are. Satisfactory measures of change vis-a-vis this objective could require setting up conflict situations that could evoke the kinds of affective states that call forth the use of these epithets. The techniques of sociodrama or doll play coupled with projective tests are the kinds that come to mind. These techniques are formidably time consuming to develop, field test, and administer.

When the level of centrality of importance of this objective to the total thrust of Vegetable Soup was placed in the balance and weighed against the time it would take to design tests and get satisfactory measures for it, the practical decision was made. Name calling was dropped as a variable to be measured.

A far more important objective for Vegetable Soup was objective 2: "To foster the development of positive identification with the child's own ethnic group." The research team exercised caution in dealing with this objective. An

important consideration with the issue of personal identification was the experiences of researchers such as Goodman (1952), who reported in her study of race awareness in children that rejection of one's own group is likely to be accompanied by self-rejection, insecurity, and anxiety. In black children, touching on the issue of group orientation carried with it increased emotionality, a sense of personal threat and insecurity with respect to racial status. Direct testing in this area can evoke unintended emotional reactions in children and it can touch nerve centers that quite correctly are sensitive in the communities involved in this study.

Objective 2 is crucial for Vegetable Soup, but it is exceedingly difficult to obtain measures for it. The practical solution for assessing this objective, indeed for all eight objectives, was to use measures that were more acceptable to the community and teachers, not distressing to children, and not exhorbitantly time consuming to construct, field test, and administer. The tests that were designed and adopted for use were acceptable on the grounds stated above and provided data from which inferences could be made of the children's having obtained gains in program goals as a result of Vegetable Soup.

The main personal and intergroup attitudes Vegetable Soup was designed to influence had to do with teaching posi-

tive identification with one's own ethnic group; understanding of the importance of interracial, ethnic, and sex group cooperation to solve common problems; and to sensitize children to the misleading consequences of role stereotyping.

By inference, children who are more willing to accept outsiders into their social group would be more cooperatively oriented toward others. The "new child in school" test was designed to measure this feeling of affiliation towards others or to "outsiders." There was a highly significant difference in this measure between the white groups; scores were higher for those who had seen the shows than for those who had not. It is possible that the difference was derived from an interaction between type of school environment and feelings of acceptance. The white children in the open school setting could realistically feel able to help the outsider enter into their social group. Conceivably, this factor was reflected in the higher mean scores. In the four other schools where the climate tended to be more traditional, or "teacher centered," the profile of the children's scores were essentially the same for the experimental and control groups.

The evaluation results suggest that Vegetable Soup is effective in helping children to feel more ready to accept new or unknown children, regardless of the new child's race, into groups of which they are members. If another way of

testing this variable were to be designed, it is entirely possible that, if school climate could be excluded as an interactive factor, this finding might be generalized to all of the racial/ethnic groups. This interaction effect was not anticipated before the instrument was designed. Designs of future research should take cognizance of differences in school climate.

The sociometric test used for measuring the friendship preferences was the most sensitive instrument used in the study. It was particularly effective in obtaining social preference measures between races and sexes. It had the further advantage of tapping racial preference patterns without arousing undue emotional reactions from the children. This test provided the strongest source of inferences regarding racial attitudes and sex differences obtained for the study.

That the viewing of 16 shows from the Vegetable Soup series had a positive effect on the choice-of-friends patterns of the experimental children was clear. Sixteen one-half hour shows could not reasonably be expected to have maximum effect. Therefore, continued viewing, perhaps with use of teacher training material should certainly increase the effectiveness.

Discussion About Asians

The friendship choice patterns of the Asian children were the lowest of the five groups tested. Care should be taken in the interpretation of the levels of these choices. The children involved in this study live in New York City's Chinatown. It is doubtful that they are in any way representative of Asian children generally. It would be a serious error to jump to the conclusion that Chinese children are unfriendly or exclusive. It is extremely important to qualify any interpretation of the results in this study by placing them into the cultural context in which these Chinese children live.

The writers of this report understand the context much too inadequately but at least these points can be made. Historically the Chinese people in this country have been forced to live under ghetto-like conditions. This has come about due to pressure from the dominant culture in America, by lack of educational and economic opportunity, and by language barriers. Chinatown is currently probably the most rapidly growing community in New York. The families of many of the children in this study are from families that have lived in New York for a fairly short time. These families live under crowded conditions and under serious economic privation, since both housing and adequately paying employment is

limited. It is perhaps as Newton (1975) wrote, ". . . the 'natives' there huddle for protection and warmth in a peculiarly American way, as if forming a circle of covered wagons in the great non-Chinese desert . . . . People can't get out. Even for those who jump the language and economic barriers . . . it's a place where you find companionship, identity, a place you won't be hassled." Radke et al. (1949) reported on similar patterns for ghettoized Jews.

It is in this context that the Chinese children's sociometric choices must be interpreted, for they reflect extensively the ambience of the community in which they live.

Not much can be said about the results of the occupations test. The measures that were sought just didn't work, or, conversely, perhaps they did work. Perhaps children just don't have their occupational stereotypes well sorted out at the age of six to nine. Although children verbalized about various jobs they desired, the occupations area in Vegetable Soup needs further study.

Discussion of Reactions to Major Segments of the Shows and Recommendations

The discussion below presents the researchers' general reactions to the major seven segments of the shows de-

scribed in Chapter III. These reactions are based on a subjective or personal evaluation and upon written comments kept by the researchers while viewing the shows with their own groups of children.

Outerscope I

This is a series of adventures in fantasy in which a group of multi-ethnic puppet children travel through space and encounter a variety of prejudicial experiences.

The response to "Outerscope I" was universally positive. Reports from all segments of the population regardless of race or age revealed that this series sustained an extremely high interest level and was anticipated eagerly. Undoubtedly, the "cliff hanger" technique that was used with each episode certainly sparked the excitement and whetted the viewer's appetite to discover what was going to happen next time. Time and again the children who were lost in the adventure emitted cries of encouragement, warning, laughter, fear as the puppet characters proceeded through their perilous journeys through space.

In reflecting about the overwhelming success of this segment with the children viewers, some of the following factors might have contributed to its appeal.

The puppet children represented both sexes of various

ages and of mixed ethnicity. This allowed the children to identify readily with the characters on the screen. The puppet children interacted as a group exhibiting similar dynamics found in all interacting members of a group. There were occasions for annoyance, anger, fretfulness, encouragement, support, tenderness, and stubbornness. The leadership of the group rotated as one or another of the characters discovered the solution to the problem or suggested a way out and "saved the day." Respect for each of the members of the crew was evident and the beneficial effects of teamwork and the spirit of cooperation were clearly observable.

Some attempt to erase or at least reduce the sex bias factor was commendable. For instance, it was a girl puppet who presented an ingenious solution for fueling the rocket for a successful launching. The message was clear that girls too are able to function in a scientific arena.

The use of these attractive puppet children was an excellent technique and brilliantly executed. The design and color of the series were quite beautiful and arresting.

The content of the series generally dealt with the growing awareness that there were differing attitudes and values held by "unknown" cultures and that the need to understand and/or accept them was paramount in communicating with them. Fine illustrations of this are found in the

programs dealing with Saniland and Technovek in which being different is the issue. The message was subtly presented and probably comprehended by the older children rather than the younger ones, although the younger children were riveted to the screen. It is likely that they were being entertained, while the older ones who could remember the previous episodes and could predict what was coming were able to understand more of the content.

In essence, this serialization was quite extraordinary in that it was in instructional device which captivated the viewing audience.

People's Jobs

The purpose for the inclusion of this segment in the series is to present occupations of minority men and women in both high and low status jobs. The series was presented in documentary form where the narrator was the job holder. In general the presentations were too talky, too technical, and not of interest to the children. The occupations were actually out of the realm of the children's awareness. For example, the segment depicting an Asian female city planner was largely ignored by the majority of viewers (except for the Asian children viewers) as was the description of the congresswoman. Even those jobs which the children could relate to, e. g.,veterinarian, jockey, were received rather

poorly with a minimum of attention. Perhaps a distracting factor was that the films were shot on location with resulting excess noise and sound interfering with the narrative. It is also likely that the "lecture" approach turned the viewers off. In the two more successful segments, the harpsichordist and the ballet dancer, the viewer's interest was sustained throughout the segment. Reasons for this might be that 'live' children interacted with the harpsichordist while she was narrating and performing. The ballet segment was artistically filmed portraying lovely movement to which the viewers responded. Dance plays a large part in the lives of the children viewers and they seemed interested in the vigorous training dancers require.

The researchers support the purpose for this segment but suggest that alternate forms of presentation be found to assure a higher level of attention.

Crafts--Recipes--Games

These animated segments were uniformly excellently received. The color and pacing of the segments were attractive and exciting to the viewers. The animated characters were clever in their dialogue, although much of the humor (of the punning sort) was too sophisticated for the young viewers. The appeal of the programs was that the children

could replicate the crafts and games. They watched the varied activities intensely and with great interest. They were most responsive to the recipes which were presented in animated fast-paced drawings and were delivered with humor. Although each recipe was presented at three different times viewer interest did not seem to wane. In fact the white group of children requested and received the recipes in printed form to try out at home. It is an interesting observation that the slapstick type of broad humor in the recipe series fascinated the children in spite of the repeated presentations, while the more subtle humor found in the crafts segments escaped them.

Basic Emotions Drama

These dramas concern real children in real life situations with which the viewer could identify. This series along with Outerscope I were the most successful in that the children were constantly asking for the next installment and responding spontaneously to the events on the screen. Some of the dramas are discussed below.

Probably the most acclaimed series was about Martin and his pet snake Nigel and their adventures. Martin is a middle-class black child whose mother is a teacher, whose father is a doctor, and who lives in a large comfortable

home in New Jersey. Within this setting, vignettes of cheating, stealing, name-calling, and being bullied are presented sensitively and intelligently with overtones of humor and suspense. The problem of prejudice is handled openly and meaningfully. The children seemed to get the message about prejudice as they watched situations develop in which Martin and/or his snake were not accepted, either because Martin is black and Nigel is a snake. Interestingly enough, the white viewers saw the irrational prejudicial aspects and responded to them vigorously while some of the black viewers were skeptical about the kind of black Martin represented. One researcher noted they seemed uncomfortable with Martin's middle-class status and voiced disbelief at his house and surroundings.

The story about Joey, a Puerto Rican boy in New York City was a highly emotional, hard-hitting series depicting the life of a Puerto Rican family moving into better surroundings and the rejection and prejudice they experience. It was stark reality with a documentary flavor and beautifully presented. It was an eye-opener to the white viewers who never saw this world and were enraged at the humiliation the family experienced. Some of the black children reacted with tears at episodes of harassment leveled at Joey and his sister. The Puerto Rican group wanted yet more episodes.

This series was powerful in that it revealed in explicit terms blatant cruelty of one group towards another for no cause.

Alex is a Chinese boy whose best friend Carlos is of Mexican-American descent. One particularly good episode presents the rejection of Carlos by Alex's friends because he is not Chinese. The dialog between Alex and his Chinese peers about his choice of friend and how he manages to get them to accept Carlos is dramatically portrayed. The Asian viewers, who for the most part were attentive but quiet listeners throughout the entire presentation, responded most directly and spontaneously to the episodes about Alex and his friend Carlos.

There are other dramas representing other ethnic groups in this segment. The three discussed were offered as an illustration of the powerful potential of such a series for instructional purposes. The researchers were impressed by the content presented and by the acting of the children in the films.

What Did You Say?

This series is concerned with the influence of the language of other cultures on English. Derivations of words and meanings are creatively presented in both graphic and verbal form. The viewers were quite attentive and responded

frequently to the narration by repeating the words. The interest level was maintained throughout the series unless there was extensive talk by the narrator. The researchers noted again that episodes which talk at children and are too lengthy lose the viewers attention and interest.

Literature/Art/Music

This series includes children's art, folk tales, and poetry of other cultures, focusing on the ethnic identity of the culture presented. The presentations are sung, danced, or told. Some illustrations of this segment follow.

The Potlatch legend, an authentic story, is narrated within a setting of a beautiful series of water color paintings. It was well received by the viewers.

Folk-tale teller spins a tale and sings about the story in a park setting with a group of children who romp with her through a meadow much to the delight of the audience.

Pat Suzuki captivates a group of children on and off the screen with her rendition of Japanese and American songs.

A dance sequence depicting the story of John Henry, which was sung, was disappointing in that it was too stark, too long, and repetitive. The performer was obviously talented and the children's original response was one of interest. The interest of the black children was held longer than the other groups possibly because the per-

former was black. It is obvious, however, that this art form is very appropriate for the viewers, provided it is choreographed and edited with care.

Children's Questions About Race

This series deals with questions children really asked about race and prejudice. The segments effectively depicted the concept of minority as a relative term, that of "being different" in a group at a specific time rather than as absolute in terms of race. Physical appearances such as skin color, kinds of hair, why and how a person smells are excellently presented in instructional and exciting episodes. The use of animation and real children engaging in discovering things about themselves and others caused a similar reaction in the children viewers. They read titles, answered questions the narrator posed, and commented about themselves to the screen and to each other. The techniques of the narrator posing questions and involving children in discovering the answers proves again to be as effective on the screen as it can be in the classroom.

In summary, the reactions to the major segments by the researchers were enthusiastically favorable except for those instances in which specific shows were too talky or outside of the children viewer's experiences. The researchers were most appreciative of the creative effort that went into the

conceptual and technical aspects of developing and implementing the whole series and were indeed proud to be associated with the project.

Following is a list of recommendations collated from the various responses of both children and adult viewers. They are being offered in the spirit of providing information to personnel involved in the production of future children's television programs having a similar focus.

Recommendations

1. Themes dealing with basic emotions, e. g. the Joey and Martin series, need to be handled openly and directly. The semi-documentary style used in the Joey series proved to be effective in depicting issues of fear and prejudice.
2. For purposes of conducting research, a great degree of specificity is needed in defining Asian ethnic groups. Differences in value systems affect responses from individual groups, and some separation is necessary in all fairness to individual groups.
3. Native Americans prefer to be known by their tribal names, e. g., Navajo, rather than by a more general ethnic classification, such as Indian and Native American.

4. Shifts in attitude may be more clearly indicated, when portrayals of ethnic characteristics are more precise in the choice of ethnic groups presented. For example, there should be clearer distinctions among white, Puerto Rican and Chicano children.

5. Sex roles and sex bias as they relate to occupations, race and age are best understood when the segments are specific in this regard.

6. The focus of the presentation on occupations should stress the possibility of any ethnic group member working at any job. The technique used in filming these particular segments should include adult-child interactions and less verbalization.

7. To fulfill attempts to develop fine listening skills in segments on story-telling, careful selection of story-tellers is of prime importance. Style, presence and delivery of a story are paramount considerations in the selection of a story-teller.

8. Generally, one must avoid talky, technical or "lecture" type presentations.

9. Although it is appropriate to use various language forms, such as a rhyme or dialect, clarity and sim-

plicity should be the focus. Timing should be paced slowly enough to enable children to clearly understand the words.

10. Faculty and students in intermediate and junior high schools should be encouraged to make the television programs a part of their daily curriculum.

11. The parent-teacher guide should be utilized with each viewing of Vegetable Soup. This will assist the students in understanding concepts presented in various segments.

12. The research team strongly recommends a longitudinal study, to determine attitudinal shifts after continuous watching of the Vegetable Soup series over a period of one year or more.

13. Teacher-training workshops should be organized to enable teachers to use these programs, to help teachers deal more openly and more effectively with prejudice, cultural diversity, and ethnic identity in the classroom.

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APPENDIX

Instrument

Test Instructions

This test is designed for individual administration only. The child should be seated comfortable at a table large enough to permit the picture sorting and arranging tasks involved. The examiner should be seated in a position permitting the child and examiner to handle test materials together. In the specific instructions that follow, (E) represents Examiner; (C) represents child being tested.

Test I: Awareness of Ethnic Identity

Test Material

1. Photographs of boys and girls representing the six ethnic groups.
2. Data Sheet.

Procedure

Subtest A: Display all pictures in front of the child. Say:

> "Here are some pictures of some children (point to them). Show me the picture that looks most like you." After the child's choice ask: "Can you tell me why you chose this one (point to the picture)?" Record the child's choice (the number on the back of the picture) and the child's response. Put the picture aside.

Subtest B: Point to the pictures on the table and say:

> "Now show me the pictures of the children who could be in your family--could be your sisters or your brothers." Point to the child's selection and ask: "Can you tell me why this child (these children) could be in your family?" Record choices and responses.

Subtest C: Place the 12 adult photographs on the table in front of the child leaving the pictures of boys and/or girls chosen by the child as representing self and possible brothers and sisters before the child in a separate cluster. Point to the pictures of the adults and say:

> "Here are some pictures of grown up people. Show me the picture of those people who could be in your family." Place the adult pictures selected with those of children already selected. Say:
>
> "Tell me why these people could all be members of your family." Record choices and responses.

Test II: New Child in School Part A

Test Materials

1. Photograph of classroom scene with child entering of same race or ethnicity as group portrayed in the scene

2. Test Data sheet.

Procedure

Place the photograph in front of the child. Say:

> "Here is a child (point to picture) who is coming to this school for the first time. The child is standing there alone and frightened. The other children are inside. The new child does not know what to do. Tell me what you would do if you were one of the children in the group (point to the group)."

If the child hesitates to respond, the examiner may restate the query.

Recording the Responses

Write a synopsis in paragraph form on the data sheet using quotes if possible based on your immediate impressions of the child's response, place a check mark (✓) on the rating scale provided on the data sheet. The (E) is urged to complete recording these data before seeing the next child.

Test III: Choice of Friends

Test Materials

1. Photographs of boys and girls
2. Data sheet.

Procedure

Step 1:

Place the children's pictures in a randomly ordered pile (simple shuffling will suffice). Point to the pack of pictures and say:

> "I am going to show you the pictures of these children one by one. As you look at each picture, I want you to tell me if you would like to have this child as a friend. If you would, say 'yes'; if not, say 'no.'"

Place the pictures in "yes" and "no" piles after each response.

Step 2:

As a second step, pick up the cards in the "yes" pile and say:

> "Here are the children you would like to have as friends. Now, I would like you to tell me whom you would especially like to have as a friend. As I show you these pictures, for those children you would especially like to have as friends, say 'yes'; for the others say 'no.'"

Proceed as in step one.

Step 3:

Pick up the cards in the "no" pile. Say:

> "Here are the children you didn't choose to have as friends. But I want you to imagine that these children are the only ones around for you to choose as friends. Tell me which children from this group you would choose as friends if they were the only ones around. For those children you would choose as friends say 'yes,'; for the others say 'no.'"

Proceed as in step 1. Record response on the data sheet by writing the numbers on the backs of the children's pictures in the spaces provided.

Test IV: Occupations (Test only older group)

Test Materials

1. Pictures of boys and girls
2. Sketches of occupational situations
3. Data sheet

Procedure

Place all pictures of occupational situations in front of the (c) on the table. Say:

> "These are pictures that show things to work with or places to work." Point to each picture in turn and briefly describe the work situation. For example point to the supermarket setting and say: "This is where people work. They put things customers buy on the shelves and they keep the store clean and neat."

(We wish to emphasize the lower status aspects of work in supermarkets.)

After all occupational situations have been defined, show (C) the photographs of all of the children in a pack and say:

> "When these children become grownups they are all going to do some kind of work. I want you to imagine that these children (point to pack of photographs) are going to do work like we see in these pictures (point to occupation pictures) when they are grownups. I am going to show you the pictures of these children one by one. As you see each picture, point to the kind of work (point to occupation picture) you think each one could do."

As the child makes his first judgment, place the first photograph under the picture of the occupation the child has designated. As you prepare to present the next child's photograph, make clear that (C) can assign more than one person to any given occupation.

Record responses on the data sheet by writing the numbers on the back of the children's photographs in the occupational designations provided.

Test II: New Child in School (Part B)

Test Materials

1. Photograph of classroom scene with group portrayed in the scene of the same race or ethnicity as the child being tested and the child portrayed as entering the classroom of a different race.

2. Test data sheet.

Procedure

Place the above photographs in front of the child (C) and say:

> "Here is a child (point to picture) who is coming to this school for the first time. The child is standing there alone and frightened. The other children are inside. The new child does not know what to do. Tell me what you would do if you were one of the children in the group (point to the group)."

If the child hesitates to respond, the examiner may restate the query.

Recording the Responses

Write a synopsis on the data sheet using quotes if possible. Based on your immediate impressions of the child's response, place a check mark (✓) on the rating scale provided on the data sheet that best represents the quality of response made by the child. (E) is urged to complete reading these data before seeing the next child.

Conclusion of Test

Thank the child at the end of the test. Before going on to the next child for testing, make sure all data have been recorded clearly and accurately for the previous test.

Data Sheet

Name of examiner:_____

Place of testing:_____Date of testing:_____

Identification Data

Print child's name:_____(last)_____(first)

Sex: female__male__Date of birth_____

Control group____Experimental group____(check one)

Grade in school_____Identification number _____
(examiner leave blank)

Test Data

Test 1--Self Identification and Positive Ethnic Identity

Subtest A:

Numbers of pictures chosen:_____

Explanation of choice (s):

Subtest B:

Numbers of pictures chosen:_____

Explanation of choice (s):

Subtest C:

Numbers of pictures chosen:_____

Explanation of choice (s):

Test II-- New Child in School (Part A)

What would you do?

Rating of Responses

.	.	.	.	.	.	.
HOSTILE OR REJECT-ING	MILDLY REJECT-ING	DISIN-TERESTED	NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW	SHOWS CON-CERN	HELP-FUL	HIGHLY HELPFUL SENSITIVE TO NEW CHILDREN

Test III--Choice of Friends

Write in numbers of pictures in appropriate spaces.

Level 1 (lowest)	Level 2 (third highest)	Level 3 (second highest)	Level 4 (Highest)

Test IV--Occupations (Test only older children)

Write in numbers of pictures in appropriate spaces.

NURSE	SUPERMARKET	TEACHER	JUDGE	WORKMAN	BUS DRIVER

FARMER	DOCTOR	OFFICE	COWBOY/ GIRL	CLEANING MATERIALS

Test II--New Child in School (Part B)

What would you do?

Rating of Response

.	.	.	.	.	.	.
HOSTILE OR REJECT-ING	MILDLY REJECT-ING	DISIN-TERESTED	NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW	SHOWS CON-CERN	HELP-FUL	HIGHLY HELPFUL SENSITIVE TO NEW CHILD'S NEED

Additional Data

For purposes of applying as a covariate we would value any test possible from tests administered by the school for the experimental and control children. These could be intelligence, achievement, readiness, or other similar test scores for tests given during the past school year. Please give the following information:

Name of test Form Date of testing Total Score